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III.

AMERICAN EXPLORERS SERIES.

On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer.

VOL. II.

KOHAT, CHIEF OF THE HAVASUPAI
Photograph by G. Wharton James, 1897

ON THE TRAIL OF A SPANISH PIONEER
THE
DIARY AND ITINERARY
OF
FRANCISCO GARCÉS
(Missionary Priest)

IN HIS TRAVELS THROUGH SONORA,
ARIZONA, AND CALIFORNIA
1775-1776

TRANSLATED FROM AN OFFICIAL CONTEMPORANEOUS COPY OF
THE ORIGINAL SPANISH MANUSCRIPT, AND EDITED,
WITH COPIOUS CRITICAL NOTES

BY

ELLIOTT COUES

Editor of Lewis and Clark, of Pike, of Henry and Thompson,
Fowler Journal, Larpenteur, etc., etc.

EIGHTEEN MAPS, VIEWS, AND FACSIMILES

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II

NEW YORK
FRANCIS P. HARPER
1900

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CHAPTER VIII.

FROM MOJAVE TO MOQUI, JUNE, 1776.

June 4. I ascended along the bank of the river and went two leagues northwest, arriving at the place observed on my coming in 35° 01′.[1]

June 5. I went one league north, and having crossed the river went down it half a league south. In the afternoon I traveled three leagues eastnortheast.[2]

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[1] See back, p. 234, date of Mar. 3, where we found this position in the immediate vicinity of modern Fort Mojave, but on the other (west) side of the river. June 4 is Garcés' 104th day's journey.

[2] The crossing of the Colorado is to be taken at or near Fort Mojave. Hence Garcés starts in Arizona on his tour to the Moquis, as memorable as that he has just made to the Tulares of California, his being the first such journey ever made by a white man. His present objective point is the settlement of the Yavasupai or Suppai Indians, who lived then as they do now in Cataract cañon, where I visited them in June, 1881. In this and earlier years I traveled on horseback or by wagon through this whole region in several different directions, and am so familiar with the topography that we shall be able to trail Garcés very closely. His route from Fort Mojave to Cataract cañon is closely coincident with that traveled in 1858 by Lieu-

June 6. I ascended the sierra that I called Sierra de Santiago to the eastnortheast, having traveled a

tenant J. C. Ives, under the guidance of the noble Mojave chief Iriteba. A glance at Ives' beautiful map will show it in outline, and we shall be able to fill in many details. Chapters vii and viii, pp. 93-112, figs. 26-36, of Ives' admirable Report, may be pleasantly and profitably read in this connection; it still remains one of the best descriptions extant of this region. On p. 8 of App. B Ives gives a tabular itinerary, with distances, etc., of his camps 60-73; some of these are identical with those of Garcés. Another notable itinerary to be considered in this connection is the Report of E. F. Beale, 35th Congr., 1st Sess., Ho. Rep. Ex. Doc. No. 124, half-titled "Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River," etc., 8vo, Washington, 1858, pp. 87, map. "Beale's route" is traditional in Arizona; everybody has heard of it, but few know anything accurately about it, and "Beale's springs" (for which see beyond) is now its most pointed reminder. Mr. Beale came through in Sept. and Oct., 1857, with a motley outfit which included Greeks, Turks, and camels, besides the men and animals more familiarly American, passing on and near the 35th parallel, approximately along the earlier lines of march of Sitgreaves and Whipple; he passed on to Fort Tejon in California, and came back through Arizona in Jan. and Feb., 1858. His report is that of an enthusiastic and energetic explorer, who believed in camels and was confident he had found the best route for a railroad across northern Arizona; his narrative is a lively one, but loose in the joints, and with the serious defect that text and map do not always agree with each other; it exhibits a profusion of original place-names, very few of which have ever come into use, and on the whole is entirely overshadowed by the better work of Sitgreaves, Whipple, and Ives. All the same, the present railroad does run nearer Beale's route than any single one of the other explorers' routes; and Beale almost retraced Garcés' trail league and a half to finish it; and with yet another league and a half did I arrive at the watering-place that I named (Aguage) de San Pacifico. In the afternoon I went two leagues to the southsoutheast, and one other eastward.[a] Plenty of grass.

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from Mojave as far as Truxton's springs (which see, beyond). So we can confidently follow Garcés into this desert, where all travel before the railroad came through was necessarily directed from one aguage to another, and the traveler who failed to find them was liable to perish of thirst.

[a] The Sierra de Santiago or St. James range of Garcés is that immediately bordering the Colorado on the east, separating the great river valley from the Sacramento valley which intervenes between this range and the Cerbat range. In my time (1865) the Sierra de Santiago was called the Sacramento range, from the name of the Sacramento valley of which it forms most of the western boundary. But the earliest name I know of is the Black range, of Ives' Report and map, given because the range to the northward is traversed by Black cañon, through which the Colorado flows; and Black mountains is also the name on the latest U. S. Geological Survey maps, though the Land Office maps call this range the Blue Ridge mountains. The main road over the range goes through Union pass, which I have traversed five times. It is perfectly easy for light wagons, and not very difficult for freight trains. Going across the Sacramento valley from Beale's springs (vicinity of Kingman, on the railroad) the road is due west to Union pass, on the summit of which the Mojave valley of the Colorado spreads before the view in a beautiful prospect; the descent is rapid to the river at Hardy, or Hardyville, consisting of a house or two in the river bottom; whence it is five or six miles down river to old Fort Mojave. Union pass has been the scene of at least one Indian ambuscade and attack upon passing whites; and I have

June 7. I traveled four leagues east, and arrived

painful recollections of the atrocious cruelties inflicted upon the cattle of a wagon train I met near the summit. This pass is *not* the one Garcés made. Striking easterly from Mojave he followed an Indian trail now disused, or so little known that no name is to be found on the modern maps. But it is notable as the one by which Beale's expedition crossed the range on Oct. 15-16, 1857; it is also the one taken Mar. 25, 1858, by Ives, who calls it Sitgreaves' pass. Why Ives should have done this I do not know; certainly Sitgreaves did not use it: see his map, trail from camp No. 31 to No. 32, showing that Sitgreaves crossed the range by Union pass, Nov. 5, 1851, as correctly delineated on Beale's map. The Aguage de San Pacifico of Garcés is present *Meadow creek*, so named by Ives in his Report and on his map. This streamlet has its source in springs on the eastern slope, and flows a short distance toward the Sacramento valley. It is illustrated by fig. 26 on p. 93 of Ives' Report, where we read: "The grazing at the camp in Sitgreaves' Pass was poor, and the mules were ill prepared for the rough road before them. A few miles brought us to the base of a steep and difficult ascent that led to the summit of the Black mountains. The path was narrow and devious, and attended with hazard to the weak and heavily-loaded beasts. All of the party had to clamber up on foot, leading their riding animals. . . A rapid descent led through a ravine to the eastern base of the range we were crossing. When nearly down the hill the head of a creek [Meadow] was encountered, and half a mile from the valley the ravine spread out for a few hundred yards, forming a snug meadow carpeted with good grass, and fringed on one side with a growth of willows that bordered the stream." Such is the Aguage de San Pacifico in the Sierra de Santiago, first seen of white men by Garcés. Ives made Meadow creek distant 20½ miles by the trail from Mojave; the latitude 35° 02′ 17.6″, and the summit of the pass 3652 feet. Later observaat the Jaguallapais,[4] who had provided much game for our refreshment. These people are in the same

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tions leave the latitude about the same, but reduce the altitude to about 3000. Garcés appears to have gone in the afternoon some six miles or more beyond the spring head of Meadow creek, into the Sacramento valley, thus approaching the present railroad which, having crossed the Colorado between the lower end of the Black mountains and the Needles, follows up Sacramento wash into the valley, on its way to Kingman, etc.

As already stated, Beale first made this pass, Oct. 15-16, 1857; he recrossed it Jan. 24, 1858. He called it John Howell's pass, and the source of Meadow creek he named Murray's spring, after Frank Murray, one of his men (Rep., pp. 77, 78).

[4] Crossing what remained to him of the Sacramento valley, Garcés finds the Hualapai or Walapai Indians living in the vicinity of present Kingman, seat of Mojave county. He says the rancheria was in an arroyo of running water; I have been there several times, without finding any stream, but that may have been due to season. The watershed is toward the Sacramento valley. This "arroyo" is Railroad pass, originally indicated as such by Whipple in 1854, but first so called and mapped by Ives in March, 1858; the railroad through it later justified the name. It appears to be that called by Beale Engle's pass, Oct. 8, 1857, after Captain Engle, U. S. N.; but Beale's itinerary is confusing, especially on any attempt to adjust it to his map. It is the main defile through the Cerbat range; or, if this range be considered to end here, it separates the Cerbat range on the north from the Hualpai mountains on the south. It is the best watered place for many miles in any direction. The original and best known aguage hereabouts is Beale's springs, for many years the usual camping place on the main wagon road between Fort Mojave and Fort Whipple, about 6 miles northwest of Kingman, and thus about halfway to Coyote holes, which are

condition as their enemies the Yabipais Tejua. They conducted themselves with me as comported with the affection that I had shown toward them. I gave them to understand that I sought to pass on to the Moqui. I encountered great difficulty in this through the opposition of the Jamajabs, who feared they (Moquis) might kill me; but finally I convinced

further out in the Sacramento valley. Beale's springs are two, near together, apparently those described by him, p. 68 of his Report, as "strong heads of water," but left unnamed, Oct. 8, 1857. Other watering places within easy reach are Johnson's springs, a few miles northward, and Railroad or Gentle springs in the opposite direction, south of the defile; besides others artificially secured of late years. At which of these aguages Garcés actually stopped it is hardly possible to say; most likely it was not Beale's springs, but Railroad or Gentle springs. Railroad pass is shown in fig. 28 on p. 95 of Ives' Report, which I will quote again: "Leaving Meadow creek and its abundant pasturage we descended to the [Sacramento] valley. . . The pass by which we were to cross the Cerbat mountains was apparent as soon as we left the Black range, and Ireteba [the Mojave chief who was guiding Ives], who had joined us early in the morning, headed directly for it. The pure atmosphere made it seem close by, and it was disappointing to plod through the hot sand hour after hour, and find it appearing as far off as ever. When the base of the [Cerbat] mountains was at last reached, it was found that the ascent was scarcely perceptible. A place more like a cañon than an ordinary mountain pass presented itself, and we penetrated the range for a few miles through the windings of a nearly level avenue. In a pretty ravine, hemmed in by picturesque bluffs, our guide pointed out a good spring of water, with grass enough near by to afford a them by my insistency. At this rancheria there is an arroyo with running water, plenty of grass, much game, and much seed of *chia*. I spoke to them of God, of whom I could perceive that they already had some knowledge; then they all kissed the crucifix, and made their children kiss it too. They go dressed in antelope-skins and some shirts of Moqui; they have

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tolerable camping place. [This answers all the requirements of Garcés' "arroyo with running water and plenty of grass"—*arroyo con agua corriente, bastante zacate*, etc.] The next day, after proceeding one or two miles along the pass, which we called the Railroad Pass, we emerged from the Cerbat range, and came into what was at first supposed to be a broad valley, but which turned out to be a basin [Ives' fig. 29, Cerbat Basin], formed by the chain we had passed and spurs extending from it. There was a low divide on the rim of the basin nearly opposite the eastern entrance to the Railroad Pass. [This divide was between the Hualapai and Peacock mountains, leading over to Cactus pass, etc.] The altitudes of these opposite edges are about the same. Lieutenant Whipple, while locating a railroad line near the 35th parallel, had reached a point [Cactus pass] a short distance east of this divide, where he struck the headwaters [White Cliff creek and Big Sandy wash] of Bill Williams's Fork, at that time [Jan., 1854] an unexplored stream. Supposing that it would conduct directly to the Colorado, he followed it till it was too late to return, and was compelled to pursue a difficult and circuitous route to its mouth. He was confident, however, from a careful study of the country at either end, that the direct route from the divide to the Colorado would be practicable for a railroad, besides greatly shortening the distance. The observations of the past two days have demonstrated the accuracy of his judgment."

belts of Castille, awls, and other implements that they obtain from Moqui. I saw no crops, and so I believe that they subsist on mezcal and game. I tarried to rest me for two days [June 8 only].

June 9. I went three leagues and a half northeast by the foot of a sierra that I named Sierra Morena;[*]

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[*] Sierra Morena is of course the Cerbat range, already sufficiently indicated as the one first so called by Whipple in 1854. *Moreno* means blackish or swarthy, and is doubtless Garcés' rendering of what the Indians told him was their name for it—very likely the same Indian word that later became applied to the other range—the Black, with which the Cerbat runs parallel. On Beale's map the name stands "Cerbals," rather in the position of the Hualapai than of the Cerbat mountains proper. This word *cerbat* is said to be the Indian name of the wild sheep or bighorn, called *carnero cimarron* in Spanish. This is a very conspicuous range, culminating in a peak, about 7,000 feet high, called Cherum's from an Indian chief whom I knew in 1881—a venerable whiskey-soaker also called Sherum, Serum, or Srum. These mountains are crossed by two roads, both available for wagons; I have driven twice over the one which passes through Mineral Park, a mining town which was flourishing in 1881 under Cherum's peak; the other road crosses further south, through places called Stockton, Cerbat, and New London. Each of these passes is easily approached by the road coming northwest through Hualapai valley from Hualapai spring (a place on the main wagon road between Mojave and Prescott or Fort Whipple); and Mineral Park is also reached by the road which comes due west across Hualapai valley from Hackberry (a station on the railroad, a couple of miles from the original mining camp of Hackberry, near Peacock peak of the Peacock range). Now Ives says, p. 96, that when he left

in the afternoon two and a half, in the same direction. I halted in a rancheria where they regaled us—the captain of the rancheria last passed, with an Indian of his nation, and a Jamajab who accompanied me, whom said captain assured that no one would do him harm. There is no water in this rancheria, and in order (to procure some) to drink an Indian woman went for it two hours before dawn to the sierra, notwithstanding the weather was very cold.

Railroad pass, "Ireteba took us *north*, for ten or fifteen miles along the eastern base of the Cerbat range, to an excellent grazing camp, but where there was only a small spring of sulphurous water." This is Bitter spring of his map, with camp mark "63," and Isabel spring of modern maps: I know the spot, having been there twice. The two roads above noted, respectively from Hualapai spring and from Hackberry, come together close by Isabel spring. Garcés says he went to-day six leagues, or about 16 miles, *northeast*, to a dry camp. If he went on that course, he followed precisely the line of the railroad, up the Hualapai valley; and his mileage sets him in the vicinity of present Hualapai station, on the western flank of the Peacock range. A dry camp is always hard to set, and the whole country thereabouts is usually dry; but I think we have him pretty closely. The nearest water I know of to Hualapai station is Peacock spring, a few miles in the mountains of this name; and I think this must be the place to which the squaw went for water, two hours before that cold gray dawn. If so, the sierra she climbed was not the Cerbat, but the Peacock range, on the eastern side of Hualapai valley. The location of Garcés' dry camp here indicated also fadges well with what we have next to consider—his Arroyo de San Bernabe.

June 10. I traveled five leagues east, and arrived at the Arroyo de San Bernabé,[*] which runs in part and in others is dry; in the evening I went one league in the same arroyo and direction. I halted in an unin-

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[*] The Arroyo de San Bernabe is now called Truxton wash, and Garcés' mileage sets him at or near Truxton spring, on the railroad. The railroad takes a very crooked course to get here, first continuing northeast from Hualapais station to flank Peacock mountains on the north, then turning at a right angle southeast to run down to Hackberry, then curving around to the north to run up into Truxton wash nearly to Truxton spring before it makes more easting. Garcés went more directly through or past Hackberry into the wash. This is the defile through what are called Cottonwood cliffs; these are simply the northward extension of the Aquarius range, and are themselves extended unbroken northwestward by the Grand Wash cliffs, bounding the upper part of Hualapai valley on the east and northeast. The whole extent of cliffs is the Aulick range of Beale (Rep., p. 66, Oct. 6, 1857). Truxton spring is one of the few place-names we owe to Beale (Rep., p. 79, Jan. 28, 1858); Truxton was one of his men, but whether the spring now called Truxton is the one originally so named may be a question. It is situated on the railroad, three miles west-southwest of Truxton station, a mile and a half south of Crozier spring, and about three miles north of Cottonwood spring. To judge from Ives' map, Truxton spring is the same as that called Peacock's spring by Ives for one of his men: see his camp-mark "65" (which certainly is not near the position of Peacock spring of our latest G. L. O. and U. S. G. S. maps, this being over 12 miles off, on the other side of Peacock mountains). The circumstances of Ives' naming this spring are these, p. 97: "Mar. 31. Leaving the Cerbat basin, the course lay towards a low point in the extension [Cottonwood cliffs] of Aquarius mountains—another chain almost parallel to the Black and Cerbat ranges. The gap much resembles the Railroad Pass. After entering it the trail took a sudden turn to the north, in which

direction it continued [compare what is already said in this note]. . . Ten or twelve miles from [last] camp, Mr. Peacock, who was riding in advance, discovered a large spring of clear, sweet water in a ravine near the road. There were no signs of the place having been used as a camp, and even Ireteba did not appear to have known previously of its existence. A Mexican subsequently found a running stream a mile or two further on, where the Indians passing this way had been in the habit of stopping." This identifies Ives' Peacock spring with modern Truxton spring, without prejudice to the question whether or not it is what Beale called by the latter name. Now for the stream which Garcés says "runs in part and in others is dry" in his Arroyo de San Bernabe. Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves came westward through this wash or arroyo, first of the modern explorers whose trails are of record, and we read in his Rep. Expl. Zuñi and Col. R., 8vo, 1853, p. 14, at date of Oct. 28, 1851: "A party sent out to reconnoitre brought back the gratifying intelligence that twelve miles in advance was a small stream of running water and abundance of good grass. A band of Yampais were found encamped upon it, from whom Mr. Leroux [Antoine, the guide] learned that the numerous trails we had observed for the last two or three days united and led to the Mohaves." Again, p. 15, Oct. 30: "This rivulet, which I have called the Yampai, has its source in three small springs; it is repeatedly lost in the ground within a distance of half a mile; after which it disappears entirely. A few willow and cottonwood trees grow upon its banks, and green grass was here seen for the first time since leaving the San Francisco mountains." In this rediscovery, post-dating Garcés three-quarters of a century, we have the origin of the name Yampai creek, lettered to-day on the G. L. O. map, and appearing in various forms on many another map. The word is a bad shape of Yabipai or habited rancheria in which my companions set fire to a wickiup (*xacál,*) in order to ascertain if there were any Indians about; but seeing that none appeared we continued on the same course. At a little distance a companion saw at the foot of a tree two small boys, who were reluctant to show themselves, through fear. We asked them where their father was; they gave us to understand that soon would he come, as in fact he did, together with his wife, about ten o'clock of the following day

[*June 11*], both showing themselves much pleased. Presently this Indian begged me for my mule, in order to bring in a buro or large deer[7] which he had left dead. It is admirable, the reciprocity (*correspondencia*) with which the gentiles, whenever they

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Yavapai, the name of a tribe of Indians with which the reader is already familiar.

Whipple was never quite so far north as this point; and here also we can dismiss both Beale and Sitgreaves, but keep company with Ives, in taking Garcés on to his next station—as we do by rail, very comfortably.

[7] *Buro ó venado grande.* *Buro* or *bura* is Garcés' style for *burro,* a word almost English as the name of the little donkeys so well known in the Southwest. The deer here so called is *Cariacus macrotis* or *Odontocœlus hemionus,* the common mule deer or black-tailed deer of the west, the largest of its genus in North America, with immense ears like a donkey's, whence the name. It also has a white tail tipped with black, short and slim except the tuft at the end, like the tail of a mule shaven into the shape the drivers consider stylish.

procure any game, make all participants thereof, though small may be each share; as I have experienced repeatedly; and on this occasion I witnessed it in this Indian, for, having cut up the buro or deer, before packing it he gave one-half to the captain who was accompanying me, contenting himself with the other. Both regaled me during the days that I tarried. This rancheria is of the Yabipais,[8] who only in name differ from the Jaguallapais. The Indian sent a runner reporting my arrival to his relatives, four of whom had seen me in past years among the Jalchedunes; and for this reason he sought with insistency my detention until they arrived. On the following day

[*June 12? 13? 14?*] there were arriving bands now of six, now of eight men, he who came at the head of each one of them making his harangue in my presence, and the Jaguallapai captain who was accompanying me responding to them on my behalf. This address of welcome is a custom among them; and at its conclusion each (speaker) turns to his band, asking them if he has spoken well and if that which he has set forth to them has suited them. I observed on this occasion that all those of the band unanimously responded alike to their respective captains that it was good. Finally the Jaguallapai captain concluded this ceremony, saying: "This padre has a good heart; he is a great [friend] of our intimate friends the Jalchedunes; he has made us friendly with the Jamajabs; and now he begs your leave to proceed to the Moquis." Responded all that it was good; that I could pass on, since I was an Español, and those of Moqui had friendship with those of New Mexico. There had arrived at this rancheria an Indian man and woman who said they were from Moqui. They were well-dressed, and so genteel (*aliñados*) that they appeared rational.[*] Both of them, with another who arrived on my departure, offered themselves to accompany me, which they fulfilled in part. Betook themselves back from here those who had accompanied me.

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[8] The Yavapais or Yampais of the previous note: see also note [11], p. 208. They were commonly called Apache Mojaves in my Arizona days, and have given name to Yavapai county, Ariz., into which Garcés is about to pass from Mojave county.

June 15. Having taken leave of the assemblage, which consisted of about 60 Indians—there were no women or children—I set out up the arroyo, northeast and north. I found one rancheria of about 40 souls. We partook of food, and following the same arroyo came upon some wells which I named (Pozos) de San Basilio,[19] whereat I met some little girls who came for water with *ollas* that seemed to me (to be made) of wood of mulberry (*moral*) with which this land abounds, and that are fitted for this purpose by smearing with gum.[11] Thereafter I went in various

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[*] *Que parecian de rason.* The Spaniards called themselves *gente de rason*, "rational beings," in contradistinction from Indians —with unconcious irony, for no more unreasonable people have ever professed civilization and preached Christianity to Indians since 1492. "Gente de razon" is much as if our colored brethren should say, "We'se w'ite folks."

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[19] Pozos de San Basilio, St. Basil's wells, are Peach springs of latter-day nomenclature, in a very well known place. Garcés mileage seems a little short; but that he is at Peach springs is evident from the courses and distance of his next long lap. He proceeds along the railroad from Truxton station to Peach Springs station, about ten miles northeast, whence it is only four miles due north to the springs themselves, from which the name of the latter station is derived. The spring nearest the station is Young's, a mile and a half southeast. The station is notable as the northernmost point on the railroad, about 35° 31′ 30″, and the one nearest the Grand cañon of the Colorado, distant 16 miles in air-line due north, and not over 20 by the nearly straight trail. The station and the spring will be found by name on almost any modern map; on some, the name is extended to Peach Tree springs; on Ives', the position of the springs is lettered "New Creek," with camp-mark "66" (his latitude about right, longitude a good deal too far east). Peach springs is so called from the fruit-trees of that name planted there, some of which were in evidence when I was on the spot, June 18 and 19, 1881. The situation is at a head of a cañon through which the descent is easy enough into the bowels of the earth, down to the level of the river itself. On June 19 I made the round trip from the springs to the river in company with Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. The trail was plain, and though then unimproved, we made the descent on horseback, only finding it convenient to dismount once or twice at some little jump-off or awkward twist of the path, and noting how readily a carriage road could be worked through even the worst places. About halfway down

to the Colorado, in a small side cañon on the right hand, there is a spring—the one marked "* Hualpais Spr. 68" on Ives' map, and indicated without name on the U. S. G. S. sheet. This Peach Springs or New Creek cañon which we descended was dry as a bone till it ran into Diamond Creek cañon, nearly at a right angle; it is only a collateral cañon of the latter. The junction is about a mile and a half from the main river. Turning sharp to the left at this point, we followed down Diamond creek till we stood on the brink of the vast current of the Colorado which rushes through the abyss. The sensation at the sight was satisfactory; the view was decidedly disappointing in spectacular effect. There is nothing specially inspiring in blank walls of rock, such as shut out every prospect except that of a patch of sky directly overhead; and this is all that is visible at the depth of some six thousand feet, where Diamond creek makes its modest contribution to the mighty flood. Plate vi of Ives' Report gives an excellent idea of the scenery at this spot. We spread saddle blankets over some scrawny bushes for shelter from the heat, creeping under them to eat lunch, during which I noticed some birds I was interested to find so far below the surface of the earth—a covey of Gambel's quail (*Lophortyx gambeli*) and a pair of black pewits (*Sayornis nigricans*). I took a bath in the river, more for the name of the thing than because I needed it, and was quite willing to return as soon as my companion wished to do so. The round trip was thus easily made between an early breakfast and a late supper, and I have never regretted the 32-mile ride.

[11] An olla is a large water-jar, usually made somewhat spherical and of porous earth, so that evaporation may keep the water

directions to another rancheria, where I passed the night, having traveled during the whole day four and a half leagues.

June 16. In the morning I went four leagues northeast and north, over highlands (*en montes*) clothed with junipers (*savinos*) and pines;[12] in the

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cool. Another name of the thing is *alcarrasa*. Such utensils are in common use throughout the Southwest. The ollas of the Indian girls were woven of wicker work, like corpulent little jugs, with small mouths and no handles, rendered water-tight with gum. The *moral* is the mulberry, but there is some mistake about this; Garcés simply missed a shot in the dark, as there is no mulberry in these lands. The Mexican mulberry, *Morus celtidifolia*, grows in southern Arizona, but is not known to occur north of the Gila; it grows sparingly in the Santa Rita mountains.

[12] *En montes* is not "on mountains"; I have set "over highlands," which is true of the ground, but "through woods" would be as correct a translation. The *savinos* said are the trees universally called "cedars" in Arizona. They are two species of *Juniperus*, which used to be confounded under the name of *J. occidentalis*, namely, *J. utahensis* and *J. monosperma*, both common in northern Arizona. A third species, *J. pachyphlæa*, the rough- or checkered-bark juniper, occurs sparingly about Flagstaff, but really belongs to a more southern flora, and abounds on the mountains south of the Gila. The principal and most conspicuous pine of the Colorado plateau is *Pinus ponderosa scopulorum*, a species very widespread in the West. On the lower slopes of the San Francisco mountains grows *P. flexilis*, remarkable for the great size of its cones; while on the same mountain *P. aristata* of large stature grows up to timber line. These pines are, of course, exclusive of the piñon, *P. edulis*,

evening five north, nearly to a sierra of red earth.[13] The Indians who were accompanying me said that

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which forms extensive forests toward the rim of the great cañon, especially on the first level below the main plateau. An oak which abounds in the region near and north of the railroad is the white oak of the Rocky mountains, *Quercus gambeli;* accompanied in some parts of the Colorado plateau by scrubby forms of *Q. undulata.*

[13] The "sierra of red earth" is the Aubrey cliffs, bounding the general chasm of the Grand cañon on the east at a varying distance, some 8 to 16 miles, in that portion of its course where it is running southward with little westing. The line of cliffs is nearly north and south. Standing on these heights, the view westward is sublime. The area between the cliffs and the cañon is largely occupied by the ramifications of the Diamond Creek cañon system, dividing and subdividing like the fronds of a fern, and spreading as a whole like a fan, north, east, and south. It is to head this impassable cañon that Garcés goes easting before he makes his northing. His position after his 9 leagues or 24 miles of swinging around is uncertain. His aguage, he says, was scanty, and there is no telling exactly which one of the several tanks or water holes that there are on this trail was the one at which he made night. It was somewhere in the vicinity of the Snow spring marked on Ives' map between his Cedar Forest and Pine Forest camps (marks "*69" and "*71"). Some maps mark Pocomattee springs hereabouts. His trail, however, is definite and fairly well known, through the highlands more or less thickly wooded with junipers and pines, conspicuous on nearly all of his route to-day. Barring the difference at the start from that of Ives—for Ives started from his Hualpais spring, halfway down the cañon leading to Diamond creek, as above described—Garcés' trail coincides precisely; and with the same difference, it is the trail dotted on the U. S. G. S. map. In fact, I know of no other way of getting

the Rio Colorado was near, and already were visible cajones very profound which had the color of the sierra. The aguage where we slept was very scanty. The two Indians and the Indian woman who were accompanying me divided with me the mezcal they were carrying for food. On this day the married

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from Peach springs into the extraordinary place for which Garcés is heading, except by an immense detour which would have taken him to an entirely different base of departure for Cataract cañon. Aubrey cliffs form the western edge or jumping-off place of the vast Colorado plateau stretching eastward at an average elevation of about 6,000 feet, with isolated elevations up to about 7,000, to the region of the great Bill Williams and the San Francisco mountains, and northward to the Grand cañon itself. South of the cliffs lies Aubrey valley, near Mt. Floyd and the Picacho, leading into Chino valley. François Xavier Aubrey, Aubray, or Aubry, who was through this country in 1854, was the famous French-Canadian plainsman and pony express rider, born in Maskinongé Dec. 4, 1824, killed in a fracas at Santa Fé, N. M., Aug. 20, 1854, by Major R. H. Weightman, U. S. A., who was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Mo., Aug. 10, 1861. Aubrey City, or Landing, was a projected settlement on the Colorado at the mouth of Bill Williams' fork, and Fort Aubrey once stood on the Arkansaw river in Colorado. A biography of this humble hero will be found in Tassé's Les Canadiens de l'Ouest, ii, 1878, pp. 179-227, portrait. See also Pike's Travels, ed. 1895, p. 731.

Garcés traveled a part of yesterday and the whole of to-day in the present Hualapai Indian reservation (Executive Order of Jan. 4, 1883); and after leaving Peach springs he passed from Mojave into Yavapai county, on crossing the meridian of 113° 20′ W.

Indian chanted the whole *bendito*[14] with little difference in intonation from that in which it is chanted in the missions. I admired this novelty, and presented him with a string of beads, asking him eagerly (*con gusto*) who had taught it to him. He gave me to understand that the Yutas[15] his neighbors knew it, for they had heard it many times among the Tiguas; whereupon he fell to chanting it twice over again.

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[14] The Benedictus, beginning in Spanish "Bendito y alabado sea," etc. Benediction is certainly better than malediction, and I think a mode of treatment like that upon which Garcés was intent was preferable to such as sometimes resulted from education in the language of the whites. Thus, Beale says that in his time the Mojaves had learned enough English to salute a stranger with "God damn my soul eyes! How de do?"

[15] The Utas or Utes, of the Shoshonean stock, after whom the State of Utah was named. They are divided into numerous bands or subtribes, whose habitat extended over southern Colorado and Utah, and into northern New Mexico and Arizona. On the upper Rio Grande in New Mexico the Utes came in contact with the pueblo tribes, particularly the Tigua Indians at Taos and Picuris, of whom Garcés here speaks. Of the two villages mentioned Taos is the more important; it is situated on the Rio de Taos, a tributary of the Rio Grande, about 60 miles north by east from Santa Fé. Its inhabitants within historic times have had several conflicts with the Utes, who have left their impress on the tribe; indeed the Taos people resemble the Utes more closely than they do their near kindred in Picuris or in Sandia and Isleta farther southward. Taos was the seat of the mission of San Gerónimo, established in the seventeenth century; it was also the scene of a rebellion in 1847, which resulted in the killing of Governor Bent, but the revolt was quelled a month later and the leaders executed by Col. Sterling Price. The Indians lost 150 killed, the American force 7 killed

June 17. I went two leagues with some windings through a rough sierra,[16] and arrived at the rancheria of the unmarried Indian who was accompanying me. I talked with the captain, who applauded my coming, and soon dispatched a runner, in order that the rancherias of the north should come to see me. Men and women came bringing me various little gifts (*regalitos*) of mezcal, with which the land abounds. All were very festive, men and women dancing at their pleasure, and applauding loudly what I told them, that the Castillas—as they call the Españoles—were driving the Yabipais from the south and keeping them far aloof.[17] They drew on the ground a sort of map, explaining to me by this means the nations of the vicinity and their directions; and even with admiration did they rejoice when on their own map I showed them my route, we understanding each other in this way reciprocally. By this means was

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and 45 wounded (some of them, including Capt. Burgwin, fatally). Toas was the Valladolid and Braba of Coronado's narrators in 1540. Present population about 400.—F. W. H.

[16] Simply continuing on the trail along the Aubrey cliffs for some five miles, to a position which appears by to-morrow's itinerary to have been two or three miles west of Pine spring.

[17] *Amarraban á los Yabipais del Sur para llebarlos mui lexos*—a clause I have slightly turned. These were the Apaches.

I enabled to acquire a clear understanding of the situation of all the nations.

The married Indian who came with me, and who said he was from near Moqui, remained here with his wife to continue his journey to his home through a level and well-watered valley. With them I could have gone to Moqui; but the captain of this rancheria and all those who had come to see me urged me to proceed to view their land. Being under obligations for their services (*á cuyo obsequio obligado*) I could not refuse, and so I determined to go with them whithersoever they wished; the occasion being favorable to see yet other peoples and discover new regions. This length of time gave me an opportunity to speak to them of God and of the things divine, to which they showed that they gave credence. They all kissed the crucifix, and held it up toward the sky, passing it thus from hand to hand, even unto the least of them. In this and other rancherias I had much to announce, for the halt, the blind, the sick and the weary ones came to beg me to lay hands upon them and teach them somewhat; I gave them some gospel, or the Magnificat, and thus did I continue in all the land of the Yabipais, even unto my return to the Jamajabs. I was at a loss to discover whence arose this good faith, sufficing unto salvation. Here I tarried one day [18th].

June 19. I went one league east, accompanied by the captain and three of his rancheria, with another principal (man) who had a beard, though a slight one, from the Rio Jabesúa.[18] Here there was a rancheria, and before I reached thereto a well of abounding water, to which, as it was crowned with roses, I gave the name (Pozo) de la Rosa.[19] Throughout this region there are many and lofty pines. I went up thereafter two leagues to the north,[20] and halted in a rancheria whereat, being importuned by the Indians, I passed the night.

June 20. I went five leagues east, two northeast, and three north, the last four of these over very bad (*malisima*) ground through some cajones the most profound, though all were well grassed and with plenty of trees. I arrived at a rancheria which is on the Rio Jabesúa, which I named (Rio) de San Antonio; and in order to reach this place I traversed a strait (*pasé por un estrecho*) which I called the Nuebo Canfran. This extends about three quarters (of a league); on one side is a very lofty cliff, and on the other a horrible abyss (*voladéro*). This difficult road passed, there presented itself another and a worse one, which obliged us to leave, I my mule and they their horses, in order that we might climb down a ladder of wood.[21] All the soil of these caxones is red; there is in them much mezcal; there are some cows and horses, most of which are branded, and some have several such marks (*los mas de estos tienen fierro, y algunos*

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[18] Rio Jabesúa = Cataract creek, for which Garcés has been heading from the start. See on, when we get there.

[19] Pozo de la Rosa, or Rose Well, is Pine spring of present nomenclature, which either named itself from the coniferous character of the forest or else may be traceable to what Ives says of his Pine Forest camp, marked "*71"; p. 103 of his Report, Apr. 10, 1858.

[20] About five miles north of Pine spring is another, now known as Oak spring. This fits Garcés' advance to a nicety, and each spring seems to confirm the identification of the other here made. There is a third spring called Aubrey's, about the same distance west of Oak spring. From his present position Garcés makes a straight break for the "horrible abyss" of the Hualapai trail by which he enters Cataract cañon.

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[21] This ladder was probably not the identical one which Ives found on Apr. 13, 1858; but it was in the identical spot—there is no other way down the awful chasm which leads from the 6,000-foot level of the plateau to the 4,000-foot bed of Cataract cañon. The trail down this side cañon is thus a descent of 2,000 feet into the bowels of the earth, to the place where the Havasupais live now as they did in 1776. Garcés' few words on his "horrible abyss," leading to depths still more profound, may be amplified by Ives' vivid description of his experiences: "Ten miles conducted to the head of a ravine, down which was a well-beaten Indian trail. There was every prospect, therefore, that we were approaching a settlement similar to that of the Hualpais on Diamond river. The descent was more rapid than the former had been, and in the course of a few miles we had gone down into the plateau one or two thousand feet, and the bluffs on either side had assumed stupendous proportions [see his fig. 34, p. 106]. Still no signs of habitations were visible. The worn-out and thirsty beasts had begun to flag, when we were brought to a standstill by a fall a hundred feet deep in the bottom of the cañon. At the brink of the precipice was an

overhanging ledge of rocks, from which we could look down as into a well upon the continuation of the gorge far below. The break reached completely across the ravine, and the side walls were nearly perpendicular. There was no egress in that direction, and it seemed a marvel that a trail should be found leading to a place where there was nothing to do but to return. A closer inspection showed that the trail still continued along the cañon, traversing horizontally the face of the right-hand bluff. A short distance off it seemed as though a mountain goat could scarcely keep its footing upon the slight indentation that appeared like a thread attached to the rocky wall, but a trial proved that the path, though narrow and dizzy, had been cut with some care into the surface of the cliff, and afforded a foothold level and broad enough both for men and animals. I rode upon it first, and the rest of the party and the train followed—one by one—looking very much like insects crawling upon the side of a building. We proceeded for nearly a mile along this singular pathway, which preserved its horizontal direction. The bottom of the cañon had meanwhile been rapidly descending, and there were two or three falls where it dropped a hundred feet at a time, thus greatly increasing the depth of the chasm. The change had taken place so gradually that I was not sensible of it, till glancing down the side of my mule I found that he was walking within three inches of the brink of a sheer gulf a thousand feet deep; and on the other side, nearly touching my knee, was an almost vertical wall rising to an enormous altitude. [This is what Garcés merely calls "a difficult road"!] The sight made my head swim, and I dismounted and got ahead of the mule, a difficult and delicate operation which I was thankful to have safely performed. A *muchos*); I recognized none of them, but of a single one I doubted whether it were not of the mission of San Ignacio. I asked these Indians, as I had done

party of the men became so giddy that they were obliged to creep upon their hands and knees, being unable to stand or walk. In some places there was barely room to walk, and a slight deviation in a step would have precipitated one into the frightful abyss. I was a good deal alarmed lest some obstacle should be encountered that would make it impossible to go ahead, for it was certainly impracticable to return. After an interval of uncomfortable suspense the face of the rock made an angle, and just beyond the turn was a projection from the main wall with a surface fifteen or twenty feet square that would afford a foothold. The continuation of the wall was perfectly vertical, so that the trail could no longer follow it, and we found that the path descended the steep face of the cliff to the bottom of the cañon. It was a desperate road to traverse, but located with a good deal of skill—zigzaging down the precipice, and taking advantage of every crevice and fissure that could afford a foothold. It did not take long to discover that no mule could accomplish this descent, and nothing remained but to turn back."

This is the road which Garcés calls "another and a worse one," where he had to leave his mule for the Indians to take back and bring around into Cataract cañon by a different trail. But we have not yet come to the ladder part of the story. Ives afterward made up a party to explore the cañon further; and we resume his narrative at the critical point: "At the end of thirteen miles from the precipice an obstacle presented itself that there seemed to be no possibility of overcoming. A stone slab, reaching from one side of the cañon to the other, terminated the plain which we were descending. Looking over the edge, it appeared that the next level was forty feet below. This before in other rancherias, whence did they procure these horses and cows; and they replied, from Moqui, where there are many ill-gotten cattle and horses. I

time there was no trail along the side bluffs, for these were smooth and perpendicular. A spring of water rose from the bed of the cañon not far above, and trickled over the ledge, forming a pretty cascade. It was supposed that the Indians must have come to this point merely to procure water, but this theory was not altogether satisfactory, and we sat down upon the rocks to discuss the matter. Mr. Egloffstein lay down by the side of the creek, and projecting his head over the ledge to watch the cascade, discovered a solution of the mystery. Below the shelving rock, and hidden by it and the face, stood a crazy-looking ladder, made of rough sticks bound together with thongs of bark. It was almost perpendicular, and rested upon a bed of angular stones. The rounds had become rotten from the incessant flow of water. Mr. Egloffstein, anxious to have the first view of what was below, scrambled over the ledge and got his feet upon the upper round. Being a solid weight, he was too much for the insecure fabric, which commenced giving way. One side fortunately stood firm, and holding on to this with a tight grip, he made a precipitate descent. The other side and all the rounds broke loose and accompanied him to the bottom in a general crash, effectually cutting off the communication. Leaving us to devise means of getting him back he ran to the bend to explore. The bottom of the cañon had been reached. He found he was at the edge of a stream, ten or fifteen yards wide, fringed with cottonwoods and willows. The walls of the cañon spread out for a short distance, leaving room for a narrow belt of bottom land, on which were fields of corn and a few scattered huts."

Such was Garcés' plunge into Cataract cañon—certainly no *facilis descensus Averni*—but the most direct access to the arrived at the place of our stopping for the night, and as I saw the Jabesúa Indians well supplied with some pieces of red cloth, I suspected therefrom that they

strange people of his Rio Jabesúa. His Indians then took his animals back, and brought them in by an easier trail, more eastwardly, which follows down another side cañon into Cataract cañon at a point a few miles above the Havasupai settlement. Lieutenant Ives did not follow Mr. Egloffstein; but, having extricated him from his predicament by hauling him up the remaining piece of the shattered ladder by means of slings from the soldiers' muskets knotted together, he beat a retreat in good order. His subsequent route is nowhere near that of Garcés, till both reach the Moqui villages. In taking leave of him here I must note that, accurate as his map is for the whole region he actually explored, it is quite the reverse in all that he lays down for the course of the Grand cañon in the parts he never saw. This is all hypothetical, and far out of the way. Thus he sends the main Colorado off through something that appears to correspond to Kanab wash, and brings the Colorado Chiquito clear westward, approximately in the course of the Grand cañon itself, to join Cataract cañon! This error of at least one whole degree of longitude, as well as the wrong confluence, was reflected on maps for many years, till the actual junction of the Colorado Chiquito with the main stream was properly determined, about long. 111° 47′ 30″.

The Cataract cañon system is of great extent; its ramifications, fissuring the great Colorado plateau in every direction, and as it were dissecting the surface of the earth, may be traced to the vicinity of Bill Williams' mountain and Mt. Sitgreaves. The general trend of the system is northwest, but the collateral fissures run in every direction. This is an effectual barrier to travel east and west, almost to the head of the system, across which Beale made his wagon road in 1857, at no point north might be some of the Apaches who harass these provinces. My suspicion increased when the women came, and among them some whiter than is the rule

of 35° 30′. The bed of the main cañon sometimes runs water from near its head downward; but is ordinarily dry almost down to the Havasupai settlement. When I traversed it, the bed was as dry as tinder, sandy, rocky, and choked with cactus; only here and there was some seepage through the walls, either trickling idly away and soon evaporating, or, if stronger, collecting in some little rocky tank. The scene changes as if by magic at the point said, where Cataract creek bursts out of the ground at a beautiful spring, almost immediately attaining a volume of some 5,000 miners' inches, equaling a creek eight feet wide and four feet deep. The water is of a deep blue color, and so heavily charged with lime that it forms stalactites wherever it drips, and incrusts everything upon which it dries. A kind of maidenhair fern grows here in profusion, and some of the delicate fronds seem as if petrified. The arable land, including that rendered available by artificial irrigation, is probably not over 400 acres; on this little farm stretched along the creek the Indians raised their corn, beans, melons, squashes, peaches, apricots, and sunflower-seeds. They lived in brush lodges scattered over their secluded demesne, except some whom I found occupying caves in the rocky sides of the cañon which they had walled up, quite like the prehistoric cliff-dwellers. These hermits seemed quite content with their half-underground lot, and only anxious to be let alone. A little distance below the settlement, following a trail not devoid of all danger, may be witnessed the spectacle to which Cataract cañon owes its name, as the water of the creek falls away in three beautiful cascades, with pitches in the aggregate of perhaps 250 feet, before disappearing in the unfathomable abyss beyond.

My own entrada into this caxon was neither so dramatic as in other nations. In spite of this I had no fear, seeing all well content at my arrival, and that they embraced with pleasure the peace proposed with their

that of Garcés, nor yet so precipitate as Mr. Egloffstein's—but it was enough to make my head swim. I reached the brink of the chasm at an entirely different place, some 20 miles higher up; and as this point is not marked in any way on any map I know of, my little-known trail may be worth recording here. In June, 1881, I was the medical officer of an expedition to the Havasupais—or, as they were sometimes then called, the Agua Azul Indians—a name supposed to be derived from the blue water above mentioned, but really a wrenching into Spanish of *Yavasu*-pai, which is the same word as Garcés' Jabesúa. The party consisted of a detachment of Company K, 6th Cavalry, Lieut. H. P. Kingsbury, under command of Lt.-Col. Wm. Redwood Price; the Lieutenant Palfrey mentioned before; with an old Arizonian scout, whose name I have forgotten, to show us the way. We went from Fort Verde, on the river of that name, to Fort Whipple and Prescott, and thence through Williamson's and Chino valleys, in which latter we camped at Roger's ranch, June 4. Next day we flanked the west base of the Picacho and followed an Indian trail to Cullen's well, as it was called, near the base of Mt. Floyd. The proper name of this tinaja or tank is Kerlin's—so called from Beale's clerk of 1857-58, F. E. Kerlin, whose name is cut in the rocks. It is on the Beale road, but hard to find, at the head of a ravine, and is not living water. On the 6th we sought unsuccessfully for Kisaha tank, and returned to Kerlin's. On the 7th, with a détour eastward along the Beale road, and then a turn northward past that other elevation which is 6 miles due N. of Mt. Floyd and about 7,000 feet high, we kept on north with some westing to what was known in those days as Black tank, but is now lettered Wagathile tank on the U. S. G. S. maps. This was a stretch of some 30 miles, inveterate enemies the Jamajabs, the Yumas, the Jalchedunes, Cocomaricopas, and Pimas Gileños; and also did I propose to them to cultivate pleasant relations

not halfway to the rancheria of which we were in quest, and the last water hence to Cataract cañon. Blank tank was a nasty hole in the rocks, containing perhaps 5,000 gallons of dead water and filth, in which lurked an enormous number of the repulsive "fishes with legs," or axolotls, also called guaholotes —a species of *Amblystoma*. Here we rested on the 8th, and next day made a straight break due north, along a dim Indian trail, over good ground, partly wooded, to a dry camp. On the 10th a march of 10 miles in the same direction brought us abruptly to the brink of the precipice—a sharp-edged jump-off of perhaps a thousand feet. There was no side cañon here for gradual descent—the firm level ground gave no hint of the break before us till we were actually upon the verge, and when the soldiers lined up to look down an involuntary murmur of astonishment ran through the ranks. Dismounting and going in single file, each man leading his horse, we took the dizzy trail—a narrow footpath, in many parts of which a misstep would have been destruction to man or beast. The way zigzagged at first for some distance, on the "switchback" principle by which railroads sometimes make grades otherwise impracticable; the face of the precipice was so steep that, as we filed along, those of us at the head of the procession looked up to see the other sections of the train almost overhead—certainly a fall of any man there would have been right on top of us. Then the trail took a long lurch to the left with little descent, hugging the face of the cliff, and we looked like a row of ants on a wall. This brought us at length to the head of a great talus, down which the trail zigzagged—the incline was too steep for straight descent, probably at an angle of 45°. This fetched us into the bed of Cataract cañon, with the padres and Españoles who would soon come to live on the Rio Colorado among those nations. So pressing was the insistency with which they urged me to remain in this rancheria that, as I found myself constrained perforce in this place, I had to remain five days;[22] during which they waited upon me and regaled me with flesh of deer and of cow, with maize, beans, *quelites*,[23] and mezcal, with all of which were they well provided. They also eat a berry of the

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perfectly dry; the trail was nearly a mile long, and it took us an hour to make our creepy way down. The Havasupai chief, who had been advised of our coming, was there to meet us with some of his men, all mounted; and he took us up the cañon about five miles to a place where there was a scanty aguage, not sufficing for the wants of the whole party. Next morning we retraced our steps down the cañon and kept on in its bed till we reached the wonderful blue spring above described and the rancheria of the Indians—a distance from last night's camp of about 25 miles, as we had struck the cañon some 20 miles above the living water. On our way down we were shown a side cañon on our right, up which was a plain trail. This led to the Moquis, and this is the way by which Garcés is about to leave Cataract cañon en route to his ulterior destination.

[22] Fueran tantas las instancias que me hicieron en esta Rancheria para que me quedase, que enmedio de hallarme violento en aquel Parage me hube de detener cinco dias, etc. This detention was until June 25.

[23] *Quelite* is the Nahuatl word *quilitl*, meaning grass or some edible herb, "greens," etc. Siméon's Nahuatl Dict. renders it *légume frais* in French. But exactly what *quelites* stands for in the above text is uncertain.—F. W. H.

juniper, a tree which is very abundant in these lands. I had much complacency to see that as soon as it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (*coas*),[24] and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui. These people go decently clothed, and are very fond (*muy apasionados*) of any red cloth of Castilla which comes from New Mexico. That there are here (*el ser aqui*) women so white—I saw one who looked like an Española—I attribute to the situation of the place wherein they live; for this is so deep[25] that it is ten o'clock in the day when the sun begins to shine. Whithersoever I have gone I have seen no situation more strong and secure by nature. These families do not exceed 34 in number;[26] yet it is the largest rancheria that I have seen among the Yabipais. Close by runs the

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[24] *Coa* is the Nahuatl *coatl*, meaning, among other things, a species of shovel or spade, *i. e.*, this was the typical planting stick or dibble of the southwestern tribes, made of wood with a shoulder for forcing into the ground with the foot.—F. W. H.

[25] In round numbers, the rancheria is about 2,000 feet below the general level of the plateau, and about half of this depth is sheer in some parts of the cañon. The river then drops 2,000 feet more to reach the Colorado. The plateau may be taken at 6,000 feet; the rancheria, at 4,000; the Colorado there at 2,000.

[26] In 1881, when I was on the spot, the total population by actual count was 214—60 men, 53 women, 101 children. In 1858 Ives supposed the census to be about 200.

Rio Jabesúa, which *arises in the labyrinth of* caxones there are in every direction; the course it here takes is to the westnorthwest and north, and at a little distance [27] it falls into the Rio Colorado. This is a river of middling size but very rapid, and the Jabesúas utilize it well with many dams and ditches.

June 25. I set forth [28] accompanied by five Indians, and traveled two leagues south and east, now on horseback, now on foot, but in both these ways with great exertion, and halted on the slope of the sierra at a scanty aguage. In the afternoon I finished the most difficult part of it (the ascent)—they cause horror, those precipices it presents—and thereafter traveling north over good ground, with much grass, and many junipers, pines, and other trees among which I went about three leagues, I arrived at a rancheria which appertains to the Jabesúa, whither had come some of this nation to gather the fruit of the juniper. The principal Indian offered himself to accompany me next day.

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[27] The air-line distance is about 15 miles, and the actual distance not much more, as the creek runs pretty straight, a little west of north, to the confluence with the Colorado at about lat. 36° 16′. The tiny Suppai Indian reservation is on and near lat. 36° 05′, long. 112° 47′ (Executive Orders of June 8, 1880; Nov. 3, 1880; and Mar. 31, 1882). The original survey of the settlement was made for this purpose by Lieutenant C. F. Palfrey, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., June 11-13, on the expedition of 1881 which I have already described in part.

[28] Garcés starts from the Havasupais to go to the Moqui Pueblo of Oraibi, in the Province of Tusayan. His air-line course would be almost due east—a very little south of east. The air-line distance is about 112 miles; but no such straight line is possible, owing to the nature of the ground. Yet his laps foot up altogether only 41 leagues, or about 107 miles, and he goes winding about a good deal. Hence it is obvious that

June 26. I traveled four leagues southeast, and south, and turning to the east; and halted at the sight of the most profound caxones which ever onward continue (*que aun todavia siguen*); and within these flows the Rio Colorado. There is seen (*vése*) a very great sierra, which in the distance (looks) blue; and there runs from southeast to northwest a pass open to the very base, as if the sierra were cut artificially to give entrance to the Rio Colorado into these lands.

neither his courses nor his distances can be taken at the foot of the letter. He lost his compass in the Tulares of California, and merely guesses at the cardinal points as well as at the leagues made. The country over which he passes is almost as much of a howling wilderness to-day as it was in 1776; if we could trace his very footsteps we should be able to name very few places. We shall find him when he strikes the Grand cañon, and again when he crosses the Colorado Chiquito, but that is about all. This first day he goes southeast up Cataract cañon to the place indicated in note [11], p. 344, where the old trail to Moqui takes up a side cañon to his left. He seems to finish this side cañon and camp at a scanty watering place, having made some northing. He is thus on the plateau, between Cataract Cañon on his right and the Grand cañon on his left. Approx. position lat. 35° 55′, long. 112° 30′.

I named this singular (pass) Puerto de Bucaréli,[29] and though to all appearances would not seem to be very

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[29] Puerto de Bucaréli, so named by Garcés for the great viceroy, is the Grand cañon of the Colorado itself. It may seem singular to give the name of a "pass" to an utterly impassable place; but the impassability is for man, not for the river, which Garcés distinctly says passes through his Puerto de Bucaréli. His use of the term "sierra," and reference to blue distance, have caused some to misapprehend the Puerto de Bucaréli for a mountain pass, and locate it off somewhere northwest of the Colorado. But Garcés repeatedly speaks of the cliffs which wall in Cataract cañon, for example, as "sierras"; while, as for a puerto being a river gorge, compare the name Puerto de la Concepcion for the narrow place through which the Colorado flows just below Yuma. The formation in question is duly lettered on Font's map, where the legend is set against the river itself, with no mountain pass about it. There are three points in Garcés' description which enable us to identify the puerto with considerable precision: (1) From his position it bears E. N. E. (2) It runs from S. E. to N. W. (3) He says beyond that the Colorado Chiquito falls into the Colorado Grande above the Puerto de Bucaréli. Now, if anyone would like to see the Puerto de Bucaréli in all its grandeur, he has only to leave the railroad at Flagstaff, and drive some 75 miles N. by W. over the wagon road opened of late years to strike the Grand cañon at the point where it dips furthest S. Here, at Cañon spring, is about where Garcés named the puerto. At Cañon spring, on the brink of the great chasm, the general level of the plateau is about 7,500 feet; whence the face of the earth drops down 5,000 feet in the course of five or six miles, and there in the bottom of the abyss runs the Colorado through the Puerto de Bucaréli, only 2,500 feet above the level of the sea.

South of the Grand cañon, in Garcés' present vicinity, the most conspicuous landmark is the isolated elevation known as great the difficulty of reaching thereunto, I considered this to be impossible in consequence of the difficult

Red Butte, some 7,750 feet high, standing on the plateau 10 miles (air line) from the nearest point on the brink of the cañon. Its former and probably earliest name was Mt. Thorburn, given by Beale for Lt. C. E. Thorburn, U. S. N., Sept. 15, 1857 (Report, p. 54). The trail to Moqui passes a little north of this butte, keeping eastward to Red Horse spring, which is on the tourist's wagon road above said, some 12 or 15 miles south of the cañon.

Garcés is the first white man known to have reached the Grand cañon from the west; perhaps he is also the first to view it at this particular point and give it a specific name, as distinguished from that of the river flowing through the chasm. In Escalante's writings of about this year it is given the name of Rio Grande de los Cosninos. But in 1776 this one of the wonders of the world had been known to the Spanish for 236 years—since 1540, in which year it was discovered by a detachment of Coronado's men. The main facts in outline are these: Coronado being at Cibola (Zuñi) sent Pedro de Tobar, Juan de Padilla, and about 20 men, to discover Tusayan (Moqui); they heard there of a great river beyond, and so reported on their return to Cibola. Thereupon Coronado sent Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas with about 12 men to find this river. This party started on or about August 25, went to Tusayan, continued in what direction is not said, and came to the river, after 20 days. Then, says Castañeda, in his Relacion of this expedition, "*llegaron a las barrancas del rio que puestas a el bado de ellas parecia al otro bordo que auia mas de tres o quatro leguas por el ayre.*" This statement has been variously translated. Ternaux-Compans has: "les bords sont tellement élevés qu'ils croyaient être à trois ou quatre lieues en l'air." Winship translates: "they came to the banks of the river which seemed to be more than 3 or 4 leagues above the stream which flowed be-caxones which intervened. From this position said pass bore eastnortheast. Also were there seen on the

tween them." It is pretty rocky old Spanish, but the translation seems to me to be: "They arrived at the gorges of the river which, (to the people who were) standing (*puestos*, masculine) on the expanse thereof, would seem to be more than three or four leagues wide in an air-line," *i. e.*, through the air, from one side of the chasm to the other. I doubt that even Spanish imagination could have made the cañon eight or ten miles deep or "*up* in the air." This description, like the rest of it that I might quote, of the magnitude and impassability of the chasm, fits so many places along the Grand cañon, that it has never been determined, and probably never will be known, at what point Cárdenas discovered the wonderful abyss. The requisite data do not exist; in their absence, conjecture has been rife; I can point to maps on which Cárdenas' hypothetical trail is looped up river to the vicinity of Lee's ferry, and others on which it is dotted down river nearly to Mojave. I believe both these notions to be wild. Cárdenas was guided to the great river by Moquis, *i. e.*, he was on a known trail from Moqui to the cañon—and what more probable than that this trail was the immemorial one on which Garcés is now being taken? If so, Cárdenas reached the river at about the place Garcés now names Puerto de Bucaréli. What next? Nothing forbids us to believe that he simply *kept on* westward. How far? Well, the narrative speaks of a *cataract;* and this colors the view that Cárdenas *kept on into Cataract cañon* along the same Moqui trail by which Garcés has just left that cañon; whence he returned to Moqui by the same way he went from that place, with no looping up or down river. All that we know favors this dictamen, and nothing that we know is obnoxious thereto; so I hold it en mi corto entendímiento, salvo otro mejor—as Garcés somewhere says about something else. But that is immaterial to the main point of discovery of the Grand cañon by Cárdenas north some smokes, which my companions said were those of the Indians whom they name Payuches, who live on the other side of the river. I am astonished at the roughness of this country, and at the barrier which nature has fixed therein.

The Indians took down the beasts to give them water in those caxones, but I did not see any (water) myself.[20] There were awaiting us here three families, in order to go in our company; because this road was for them very hazardous, on account of the war that they wage with the Yabipais Tejua and Napao;[21]

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in September, 1540; and what is more, the Colorado in that situation was about that time correctly identified with the Rio del Tizon or Firebrand river of Melchior Diaz.

[20] So Garcés is at a dry camp. This makes me think he has not reached Cañon spring, the terminus of the modern wagon road on the plateau. It does not follow, however, that, because the Indians took the beasts down somewhere to water, therefore they were at a place where the river itself was accessible. The animals probably drank at some spring or waterhole in a side-cañon.

[21] There seems to be no question that the "Napao" tribe of Garcés and the Navajo or Navaho of the present time are one and the same. The origin of the name is not known with certainty, although its derivation is variously explained. Their own name is Déné. Although classified linguistically as Athapascan, the tribe is composed of many small bodies of Indians either related by language or bearing no relationship with the Athapascan nucleus with which they became consolidated at one time or another during several generations, by voluntary adoption or through capture. Their original range extended from

these live in a sierra they call Napac,[33] which disparts (*se desprende*) from that of the Puerto de Bucaréli and

San Francisco mountains in Arizona on the west to the vicinity of Jemez pueblo in New Mexico on the east, and from the San Juan mountains on the north to Mt. San Mateo or Taylor on the south. They are now gathered on a reservation comprising 7,680,000 acres, largely of desert land, in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona, extending into southern Utah, of which area only about 8,000 acres are under cultivation. They are a pastoral people, with about a million and a quarter sheep from which they derive considerable income through the sale of wool and of blankets, in the weaving of which they are adept. In addition to their sheep they possess about 250,000 goats, and over 100,000 horses, mules, and burros. Among them are several expert silversmiths, whose art was originally derived from the Mexicans. Their desert range, most of which is devoid of grass during most of the year, compels constant shifting from place to place with their sheep, and prevents any considerable part of the population from settling for more than a brief period in any locality. The Navaho have become known to science through the noteworthy researches of Dr. Washington Matthews, U. S. A., whose work "Navaho Legends" (Boston, 1897) is of high authority. The present population of the tribe is believed to be about 20,000. Other names applied to the tribe by various writers are: Apaches de Nabajoa, Apaches de Nabaju, Apaches de Navaio, Apaches de Navajox (and other similar forms combined with the name of the cognate Apache), Nabaho, Nabajo, Nabajoa, Nabajoe, Nabbeho, Nabijo, Naboja, Nabojo, Nahjo, Namakan, Nanahaw, Nauajo, Nauajoa, Navago, Navahœ, Navajai, Navajhoe, Navajoa, Navajoe, Navájoo, Navajoses, Navejo, Navijo, Navijoe, Nevajoes, Novajo, etc.—F. W. H.

[33] Sierra Napac is the San Francisco mountains, apart from the Grand cañon, running westward, rising into other peaks,

runs to the west, rising at intervals (*á trechos*) very high, and maintaining itself even at this season snowy. This sierra have I kept continually to the right;[33] and arising therefrom flows the Rio de la Asumpcion. This day they showed me on the road some tracks that trended northward, and told me that these were of the Yabipais Tejua, who take that way their journey to go to see and trade with their friends the Chemeguaba; those who live as already said on the other side of the Rio Colorado. In the afternoon we set forth all together, and having traveled four leagues southeast we camped for the night in pine woods.[34]

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as Kendrick's, Sitgreaves', and Bill Williams', mountains; Garcés has had these in plain view, on his right, ever since he reached Cataract cañon, and even before that; and from the southern slopes of them flow the headwaters of the Rio de la Asumpcion, *i. e.*, of the Verde or San Francisco river, a branch of the Gila system. This identifies the Sierra Napac; and no doubt Napac is merely the scribe's error for Napao, which Garcés elsewhere uses, and which is the same word as Navajo. When and by whom the San Francisco mountains were first so named, and which of the two eminent saints of that name they were called for, has hitherto eluded my observation. I am under the impression that the name is a very old one. It is only within recent years that several of the peaks have been distinguished by name, as Agassiz, Humphreys, etc.

[33] That is to say, in traveling eastward he is north of the San Francisco and Bill Williams' mountains, and so has them on his right.

[34] This camp cannot be set exactly. The nearest named place

June 27. I traveled four leagues southeast and east, passing most of the way through a lowland (*un bajio*) toward the sierra of the Puerto de Bucaréli; and we halted near an aguage at a place where there is a cave (*en un sitio de una cueba*).[33]

June 28. I traveled three and a half leagues on courses south, southeast, and east, and I arrived at the Rio Jaquesila, and I called it (*y le puse*) the Rio de San Pedro.[34] It was running water enough, but very

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to where I suppose it to have been is the Red Horse spring already mentioned.

[33] If this cave could be found it would clear up the otherwise obscure itinerary to-day. I can make nothing of it as it stands. If Garcés continues S. E. and E., he is going toward the San Francisco mountains and thus away from his Sierra del Puerto de Bucaréli. This cannot be; for he continues the same course to-morrow to the Colorado Chiquito, and could never strike it in this direction. I believe that he went N. E. and E. He must make some northing to strike the Colorado Chiquito where he does, in the vicinity of Moencopie wash, in order to get into Moqui on anything like the course he gives us as his route beyond.

[34] Rio Jaquesila, otherwise Rio de San Pedro, is the Colorado Chiquito, the only large branch of the Colorado in northern Arizona. There is no doubt about this; and the text correctly runs it into the Colorado above the place where Garcés named the Puerto de Bucaréli: see also Font's map. But how he ever reached the river on any such courses and in any such distances as he gives, is another question. It is also uncertain at what point he struck it; though I give some reason (beyond) for supposing the place to have been in the vicinity of the mouth

dirty and red, that could not be drunk; but in the pools of the border of the river there was good water. This river runs to the westnorthwest, and unites with the Rio Colorado a little before this passes through the Puerto de Bucaréli. The bed of this river, as far as the confluence, is a trough of solid rock (*un foso en peña viva*), very profound and wide about a stone's throw, and on that account impassable even on foot; wherefore with much travail did I enter into said bed of the river, following down a trough not so profound,

of Moencopie wash, which joins the Colorado Chiquito from the N. E. The river is one of the discoveries of 1540, when Coronado or some of his men first called it Rio del Lino—a name which, either in the Spanish form or translated Flax river, it has borne on many maps almost to the present day. It was common down to the surveys of the 50's, though in my earliest Arizona days of 1865 it had been mostly supplanted by the term Colorado Chiquito. As I say elsewhere, the name Colorado or Red seems to have been first attached to this river in 1604, by Juan de Oñate, and been subsequently transferred to the main stream; but when the term Colorado Chiquito or Little Colorado was first applied I do not know. Some have supposed Coronado's name Rio Vermejo to belong here; it may have been sometimes so used, but its proper and original application was to Zuñi river, a branch of this one. Garcés' term San Pedro I do not think ever had any vogue for this stream; his other name, Jaquesila, occasionally appears in print, also in the forms Jaquevila, Jaquecila, etc. It is curious to note the similarity of Jaquesila to Hah-qua-si-il-la, given in Whipple's Report as a Yuman name of the Gila. See further regarding the Colorado Chiquito in Pike, ed. 1895, pp. 730, 731.

in the direction eastnortheast.[27] In the afternoon, having crossed the river, and entering upon another similar cajon, I traveled eight leagues north and east, having gone somewhat out of the way through failing to find the Indians where we sought them. I arrived at a rancheria of Yabipais that should have as it were 30 souls; I was received with many civilities, for here was the Indian who, as said above, had sung the hymn. The captain of this rancheria, who wore the beard very long, was brother of the Jabesúa Indian that accompanied me. There arrived later two Indians from Moqui, dressed in leather jackets almost as well as (*cueras y poco menos que*) Españoles,[28] and they came to trade with these Yabipais, and the word was sent to a neighboring rancheria. One of them kissed my hand, and having presented him with a little tobacco and some shells, he gave them back to me. I called to the other, who would neither draw nigh nor kiss the crucifix which the Yabipais handed him for that purpose (*para que lo hisiese*). These Moqui Indians went away early next day, and I did not depart until the 1st of July.

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[27] This seems to be warrant enough for the statement in the last note that Garcés struck the Little Colorado in the vicinity of Moencopie wash, difficult if not impossible as it may be to fetch him here by his alleged courses and distances. The river is comparatively open and easy down to this point, where it becomes suddenly cañonated or boxed up, in such way as to be "intransitable" across its "trough of live rock." The west or left side which Garcés reaches is more precipitous than the other; but with much difficulty he found a "trough not so profound," *i. e.*, some side cañon, by which he gained access to the bed of the stream, and thus crossed it. These side cañons also have the general trend northeasterly, as he says. The further direction, north and then northeast, is quite right for following up Moencopie wash; on and near which, at distances fairly agreeable with the eight leagues he gives to his Yabipais rancheria, are inhabited places now known as Moencopie, Moa Ave, and Tuba, in the Painted desert, on and near the well-known Mormon road hence to Lee's ferry. This wash, therefore, would seem to be the "other similar cajon" upon which he entered, *i. e.*, resembling the one by which, on the other side of the river, he descended to the bed of the latter. Furthermore, if we take him up Moencopie wash we can account for his otherwise inexplicable meeting with his Jaquesila river again (see note [illegible]); and also, we can fetch him into Oraibi by a known trail, in the direction he indicates.

July 1. I went one league and half eastsoutheast, and found a river that seemed to me to be the Rio de San Pedro Jaquesíla,[29] and on a mesa contiguous thereto a half-ruined pueblo. I asked what that was, and they answered me that it had been a pueblo of the Moqui, and that some crops which were near to a spring of water were theirs, they coming to cultivate them from the same Moqui pueblo [Oraibi] that is today so large. The river runs little, and it was yellowish; having crossed it and ascended some hills, I entered upon some very wide plains, without one tree, though there is some small grass; and having gone six leagues in the same direction I arrived at some pastures where the Moquis keep their horseherd. These pastures are of difficult entrance and worse exit; there are found some scanty aguages. There is not to be discovered from this place any sierra on the north and east; only is seen that which runs toward

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[28] Spanish soldiers of some classes wore a sort of leather jackets called *cueras*. The Spanish *coraza*, *coracero*, cuirass, cuirassier, Lat. *coratia*, a breastplate originally of leather, and several other similar words, are all from the Lat. *coriaceus*, leathern; *corium*, hide, skin, leather.

[29] The apparent difficulty of again striking the Colorado Chiquito on such a course, after six leagues' northing and easting, disappears on considering that Garcés simply comes to a part of Moencopie wash which was running, and fancied it might be his San Pedro Jaquesila, of which, of course, he knew nothing above the place where he crossed it. In strictness,

therefore, his Jaquesila = Moencopie wash + Colorado Chiquito below their junction; but it is not necessary to insist upon this point. See Font's map, which traces "R. Jaquesila" *entirely* N. and W. of Oraybe, a portion of it running S. W. (= Moencopie wash) before it turns N. W. (= Colorado Chiquito) to join the main Colorado. The wash is intermittent, commonly quite dry below, contributing no water to the Little Colorado; but higher up, in the vicinity of its sources, it runs sometimes. It is possible to identify the half-ruined pueblo, the mesa, and the Moqui pastures of which Garcés speaks; certainly the latter are Moencopie, better spelled Moencapi, and curiously styled "Muca concabe" in the text beyond: see the note on p. 393. From this position Garcés can make his entrada into Moqui on a well-known trail southeast, by going the fifteen miles or so which he next indicates.

Apacheria[40] on the south and southwest, whereof already have I made mention.

July 2. I went three leagues eastsoutheast, and yet other three east;[41] whereupon I arrived at the pueblo that the Yabipais call Muca, and this is the (Pueblo) de Oraibe.[42] Three leagues before my entrada I met a young man, to whom I offered a little tobacco, and he would have none of it. One league further on there came two on good horses and well dressed; and I apprcaching them as if to take them by the hand, they drew away, making signs that I should betake myself back. Spake then on the subject and in my favor the Yabipais who accompanied me, but I knew that they were encountering opposition, since having returned to me they asked me what it was that I was of a mind to do (*que era lo que determinaba*). As well as I could I gave the Moquis to understand that if they received me not I would pass on to the Gualpes;[44] or if not that, to the Españoles;[45] for I was an Español. So leaving them all at the very word,[46] I proceeded alone, as already the Yabipais had told me that I was near the pueblo.

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[40] Apacheria = "Apacheland," the indefinite region in Arizona and New Mexico over which the Apaches roamed.

[41] This course is over a nearly level plain to near its end, the most conspicuous object being the isolated mesa on Garcés' right, rising to 6,500 feet from the general level of 5,500 to 5,575. On nearing Oraibi, when about 5 m. due W. of that pueblo, the road rises 250 feet to the level of 6,000 feet, and at this elevation rounds Oraibi butte, which rises to 6,750; it then sinks again to the general level, and finally rises abruptly to the butte or mesa on the edge of which is Oraibi, at an altitude of 6,250.

[42] Oraibi, Oraybe, Oraibe, etc., is the isolated westernmost one of the seven pueblos of the Province of Tusayan, directly on the bluff, and very near the end of a narrow spur of one of the Moqui mesas, in lat. 35° 53′ very nearly, about long. 110° 38′. It stands to-day on the identical spot where it was discovered by a party of Coronado's men in the summer of 1540, and is one of the most obdurately conservative, fixed facts in all the history of Arizona. When it was built is unknown; but for three centuries and a half it has stood like the rock on which it is intrenched, sturdily resisting the encroachments of ecclesiastic and military power. In Garcés' time, it had known the Spanish priest and soldier to its cost for more than 200 years, sometimes entertaining, sometimes expelling, sometimes slaying the intruders; and we shall see what sort of reception its traditional policy of independence induced this pueblo to extend to the new missionary.

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[44] These were the Moquis of the pueblo of Gualpi, Hualpi, or Walpi, one of the easternmost cluster of three towns, adjoining Sichomovi and Hano, the other two of this group. The distance of Gualpi from Oraibi is about 25 miles by the trail, E. by S. The three other Moqui pueblos of Shipaulovi, Mishongnovi, and Shumopovi, form an intermediate group, E. S. E. of Oraibi and W. S. W. of Walpi, nearer to the latter than to the former. An extended historical and ethnographic note on all of these pueblos will be found beyond, pp. 393-402.

[45] Namely, the Spaniards at Santa Fé.

[46] Y asi dexandolos á todos *con la palabra en la boca;* literally, "with the word in the mouth"—so saying, or forthwith. The expression is idiomatic.

CHAPTER IX.

AMONG THE MOQUIS, JULY, 2-4, 1776.

Those who had come with me, and they were eight, parted company with me (*se dividieron*) henceforth, and there only followed me an old man and a boy, with whom I made my entrada. In order to surmount the mesa whereon stands the pueblo there is quite a steep ascent and very narrow pathway. On the same ascent there was a sheepfold (*corral de ganado menor*), of which there were kept here about three *atajos*.[1] The ewes are larger than those of Sonora, and the black ones have a finer color. Having ascended the slope I commenced my journey over the mesa, and passed through some sandy places (*medanos*) until I reached a small spring of water which is in front of the pueblo. In the cañadas at this place there are many peachtrees; and though the soil is sterile, since no grass grows, nor any other tree than the peaches they have planted, it is well cultivated, and on the very border of the spring of water I saw some gardens or inclosures containing onions, beans, and several other kinds of garden-truck which have evidently cost much labor to produce.[a] Descending and turning about I suddenly found myself in sight of the pueblo. There are two or three tumble-down (*caydas*) houses in front of the entrance thereof, and there is seen neither any door nor window. The street which is entered is quite wide, and runs straight from east to west, or from west to east, to the exit from the pueblo, and I believe it to be the only one there is. On one side and the other of this are other cross-streets of the same width, forming perfect squares. I saw also two small open places (*plazuelas*). The surface (*piso*) is not level, but firm. The pueblo is situated with the lower part toward the east, so that only the streets which run from north to south are level. The houses are of heights some greater, others lesser; according to what I found they have this arrangement: From the ground (*piso*) of the street there rises a wall as it were of a vara and a half, at which height is the courtyard (*patio*), which is mounted by means of a wooden ladder that may be taken away when they wish. The ladder has no more rungs than are necessary to ascend to the patio; but both the up-rights (side sticks—*palos de los lados*)

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[1] An *atajo* is a mule-train, and Garcés uses the word as if such a train represented a particular number of animals; but no doubt he simply means flock.

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[a] Hortalizas que se conocia haver costado mucho componer.

THE HOPI PUEBLO OF ORAIBI WHERE GARCÉS SPENT JULY 2–4, 1776

Photograph by A. C. Vroman

are very tall. On this patio there are two, or three, or four—all of which (numbers) I saw—dwelling-places (*quartos*), each with its own door, closed with bolts and keys of wood. Of the house where there is poultry, the coop stands in the patio. Against the wall on the right or left—for there are each of these—is placed a ladder for ascending to the upper stories (*á los altos*). These contain a large hall that there is in the middle, and a room at the sides. At the same collateral walls there is another ladder to ascend to the roof, which for all the houses is one with those adjoining in the same square; which latter is commonly not very large, owing to the number of streets which intersect. I found, to be more particular, that the houses all present their rear walls (*se dan todas la espalda*), in such manner that no one can see what his neighbor is doing without going up on the roof. The shape of the pueblo is neither perfectly square nor perfectly round.

As soon as I entered therein, and we alighted in sight of the very many women and children that there were on the house-tops, I approached with the intention of going up into a house known to the Yabipai who accompanied me, and who had already saluted from below the proprietor who stood on the roof. But before I could ascend she told the Yabipai to notify me there was no admittance for myself, and not even for my baggage; and that he should bring up only his own.[3] Thereupon I betook me to a corner that there was in the street, where I unsaddled, and the Yabipai took the mule to a sheep-corral. There were coming all day in succession to stare at me men, women, and children, yet not one of them would come near me, even though I offered them the sea-shells they prize so highly; nevertheless, they kept up appearances well (*ponian buen semblante*). When the old Yabipai parted company with me he said to me: "Remain alone here; these people do not want thee; they are a bad lot." Of the cornstalks (*olótes*) [4] that were strewn in the street I gathered some to build a fire; I struck a light with the lens [5] and made a little atóle. I heard that the Yabipais, who by this time had arrived—all those who had accompanied me—were talking in the houses, and no doubt they were taking my part. At evening I saw entering the pueblo the men who were coming from work, and they brought their hatchets, dibbles, and hoes. At nightfall there

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[3] What the inhospitable lady said to the Yabipai is rendered by Garcés thus: "Esta, antes que yo subiera, le dixo al Yabipai que me avisára para que no entrarse ni tampoco mis trastes, que subiese solo los suyos."

[4] *Olóte* is the Spanish form of Nahuatl *olotl*, cornstalk.

[5] *Con el ente* in our copy. But this is a slip of the scribe's pen for *con el lente*, with the lens, *sc.*, burning-glass. Both the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc. read *lente*.

A NATIVE OF ORAIBI CARRYING CORN FODDER

Photograph by G. Wharton James

came to me one old man to whom I made a present, and allowed to kiss el Cristo; when he received the tobacco and shells he said in Castilla, "May God reward thee" (*Dios te lo pague*). Soon there came a young man to whom I made the same offering, and he began to speak in Español, saying unto me, "Padre, these (people) are *chichimecos*,[*] who do not wish to be baptized, and do not believe that thou art a padre; but I myself believe it, for I have been baptized at Zuñi; all the people of my pueblo are good, and content with the padre whom we have; we know that those who are baptized go to heaven. Our padre was also here not long ago (*poco há*), and when he returned to us he said that these were evil people, unwilling to be baptized, and that with us only was he content. The padre whom we have came but lately (*poco hace*) from Mexico, and the old one went to the Villa.[1] Also is

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[*] *Chichimeco* or *chichimeca* is a Mexican word adopted by the Spanish from the very earliest times for any wild or hostile Indian, as opposed to *manso*, a tame one; and in time it came to mean what we do when we speak of a "bully," "bravo," "fire-eater," etc. Some of the dictionaries treat it as the proper name of a tribe: thus, one to which I have just referred says: "*Chichimecos*, one of the ancient races of America, of the Mexican family, which at some remote period came from the north of the continent and established itself in what is now Mexico, and was ultimately exterminated by the Spaniards." The Teatro Americano of J. A. de Villa-Señor y Sanchez, 1746, i, p. 3, speaks of "el Imperio *Chichimeco*." F. L. Gomara, Hist., 1554, chap. 214, has a "tierra de *Chichimecas*," etc. The Relacion de Castañeda, pt. ii, chap. 5, speaking of Cicuyé, says that the Pecos "generalmente llaman estas gentes teyas por gentes ualiẽtes [valientes] como dicen los mexicanos *chichimecas* o teules"—generally called the Teyas so because they were valiant, as the Mexicans say chichimecas or teules. The French translation of Ternaux-Compans, 1838, p. 178, renders this: "Ils nomment cette nation Teyas, ce qui veut dire vaillants, comme les Mexicains s'appellant chichimecas ou braves." The word *chichimeca* is found in the title of Fernando de Alvarado Tezozamoc, Crónica Mexicana, Historia Chichimeca por Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, forming vol. ix of Viscount Kingsborough's sumptuous Antiquities of Mexico, etc., 1848; and Ixtlilxochitl's

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History of the Chichimecas also forms vols. 13 and 14 of Ternaux-Compans' works, Paris, 1837-41. The fact is, as Winship says in his admirable edition of Castañeda, "the term was applied to all wild tribes" (14th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 524). Chichimeca was never a nation, an empire, or a country; but the Moqui were chichimecos, because they wouldn't be baptized. (Compare note [1], p. 52.)

[1] Santa Fé, N. M. "The old one," whom the friendly Zuñian means, was Padre Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, resident missionary at Zuñi. Escalante is famous for his expedition in Colorado and Utah, but less is known of his visits to the Moquis and attempts to subdue their obduracy. Garcés came to Moqui between two of Escalante's entradas there; and very likely their fresh impressions of Escalante were a factor in their inhospitality to Garcés. Garcés, beyond, alludes to a letter or report of Escalante on the subject of the Moquis, etc., dated Aug. 15, 1775. The best known such report is dated Oct. 28, 1775, being Informe y Diario de la Entrada que en Junio de 1775 hizo en la Provincia de Moqui. Escalante spent eight days there in that June, 1775, and tried in vain to go beyond to the Rio Grande de los Cosninas—the Grand Cañon of the Colorado,

OLD SPANISH CHURCH AT ACOMA, SHOWING WALLED-UP CEMETERY

Photograph by A. C. Vroman

there a padre in Acome, and one in Laguna.[8] Thou

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from which Garcés has just come to Moqui. His report of 1775 speaks of the seven Moqui pueblos on three different mesas, with 7,494 total population, two-thirds of them at Oraibi alone. We thus learn that Oraibi then outnumbered all the other Moqui pueblos together. Escalante advised heroic, not to say drastic, measures to be taken with this stiff-necked generation of gentiles, whom he wished to be subjugated and converted by force of arms; a presidio to be established there, as well as a mission, etc. After this Escalante went to Santa Fé, full of his ideas of a northern route from that capital to Monterey, in undertaking to carry out which he failed, but made his well-known tour just mentioned. He and Padre Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with a party of eight men, started from Santa Fé July 29, 1776; his second visit to Moqui was on his return, Nov. 16-20, 1776; and he was back in Santa Fé Jan. 2, 1777. So we see Garcés' experiences at Moqui sandwiched between those of Escalante, who, at present date of July 2, 1776, had gone to Santa Fé, as the Zuñian told Garcés, to make ready for his long tour.

[8] Who were the padres at Acoma and Laguna respectively in July, 1776, I have not been able to discover. In my search for them the nearest I can come is: At Acoma, Pedro Ignacio Pino, 1760, and Tomás Salvador Fernandez, 1782. At Laguna, Juan José Oronzo (or Orontaro), 1760; José Palacios, 1782; José Corral, 1788.

Acoma is a pueblo tribe of western central New Mexico, fifteen miles south of the Santa Fé Pacific (Atlantic and Pacific) Railroad. First known to Marcos de Niza in 1539 under the name Acus. Their own name is Acóme, signifying "people of the white rock." It was first visited by Coronado's army in 1540 and described, under the name Acuco, as situated on an almost impregnable peñol, just as it exists now. It has the distinction of being the only New Mexican pueblo that has not changed its site since the middle of the sixteenth century. The canst come to-morrow with us; we are three; the road

village has been most prominent in early Spanish history of the southwest, it having been visited by all the important expeditions into New Mexico during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The inhabitants, who belong to the Keresan (Queres) stock, early established a reputation for hostility. They fought bravely against Zaldivar in 1599, but were overcome after a three days' conflict. They killed Fray Lucas Maldonado, their missionary, during the Pueblo revolt of August, 1680, were reconquered with the other Pueblo Indians by Vargas in 1692, rebelled again in 1696, but finally submitted. Present population, about 566. Among the names applied by various writers to the people and their village are: Abucios, Acama, Acmaat, A-co, Acogiya, Acoman, Acomeses, Acomo, Acona, Aconia, Acquia, Acu, Acuca, Acuco, Acucu, Acus, Acux, Aioma, Ako-ma, Alcuco, A-quo, Asoma, Coco, Peñol, Quebec of the Southwest, Queres Gibraltar, San Estéban de Acoma (mission name), San Pedro (de Acoma, another mission name), Suco, Vacus, Vsacus, Yacco, Yaco.—F. W. H.

The proper name of Laguna is Ka-walk', of unknown signification. This is a Queres pueblo of 1,143 inhabitants on San José river and the Santa Fé Pacific Railroad in western central New Mexico, about fifty miles west of Albuquerque. It is the most recent of all the pueblos in New Mexico, having been settled probably not long before 1689 (when the first documentary mention of the pueblo appears to have been made) by a Zuñi and a Sia family, later joined by some natives of Acoma, San Felipe, Moki, Sandia, and Jemez. Laguna derived its popular name from a lake which formerly existed west of the village. The settlement is gradually being abandoned, the inhabitants preferring to reside the year around at what were formerly only summer farming villages. These are: Mesita (Hat-sát-yi), Paguate (Kwi'-st'yi), Santa Ana (Pun-yis'-t'yi), Casa Blanca

CHURCH AT LAGUNA, NEW MEXICO, WHICH WAS STANDING IN 1776

Photograph by A. C. Vroman, 1897

runs whither the sun rises;[9] it is good, and has water; before midday shall we arrive at the first pueblo, and therein will the beasts fare well, for there is much grass; and setting forth betimes on the next day, in the whole of that and the night following shalt thou come unto the mission. Have no fear of the Apaches Nabajai; for they have come down in peace, begging hatchets, dibbles, and hoes in return for antelope skins. Already are they in great fear;[10] they say that

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(Pũr-tyi-tyi'-ya), Paraje (Tsi-mu-ná), Encinal (Ha-pun-ti'-ka), Puertecito (Wa-pu-tyu-tsi-am'-a), and Cañada de Cruz (Tsi-a-ma). Cubero and Sevilleta were also formerly summer villages (the former occupied jointly by Acomas and Lagunas), but they were made penal settlements by the Mexican authorities and ultimately became completely Mexicanised.—F. W. H.

[9] "*El camino va por donde sale el sol*, etc. So Garcés says, but perhaps misunderstood the Indian, who meant to tell him they would start next morning at sunrise. He certainly did not know where Zuñi was, and supposed it to be eastward from Oraibi: see Font's map, whereon Zuñi is set down nearly east (a little north) of Oraibi—above lat. 36°, the position of Oraibi being marked just below that parallel. Zuñi is nearly S. E. from Oraibi, a little above lat. 35°.

[10] The scholiast notes in the margin that this fear might well proceed from the stroke lately inflicted upon them by the soldiers and settlers of New Mexico, and refers for particulars to the official reports of Governor Mendinueta. The governor of New Mexico was Señor Don Pedro Firmin (often called Fernando) Lara y Mendinueta. The archives of New Mexico, which I have examined at Santa Fé, during this period include many autograph signatures of Viceroy Bucaréli, all spelled

the Españoles are valiant, and that a long-beard hath come unto them, saying that no longer is there to be any war. All of which is the padre writing to the Villa."

I infer from this that fear alone will have restrained the Apaches; since I have spoken no otherwise in what I have had to say of this matter in regard to the Yumas, refer to that, and also to the reflections in this Diary.[11] I did not enter into this question with the Indian, nor did I write thereupon to the padre, for lack of paper, a stock of which would be required to tell him all that goes on in Sonora with the Apaches.

Bucarely. One of them, dated Mexico, Dec. 25, 1776 (Doc. No. 696, A. F. B.) advises Mendinueta of the arrival there of El Señor Brigadier Cavallero de Croix, comandante general nombrado por el Rey de esa Provincia, de las de Senora (*sic*), Cinaloa, Californias, Nueva Viscaya, Coahuila y Texas—whose usual autograph was "El Cav^{ro} De Croix." Colonel or Brigadier Mendinueta has been represented by some writers as ruling in 1759 and 1762; but he succeeded Cachupin in 1767 as governor and captain-general of New Mexico, and was the last to hold the latter title. He retired in 1778, leaving instructions of date March 14 to his successor, Acting Governor Francisco Trebol Navarro, who was in turn succeeded by Lt. Col. Juan Bautista de Anza, appointed in June, 1777, and taking office probably in 1778, certainly by Jan., 1779. But what particular stroke of Governor Mendinueta against hostile Indians, or what ones of his numerous reports to Bucaréli, the scholiast means, I have not ascertained.

[11] For the Yuma reference see p. 204; the "reflexions" are those given beyond, after the Diary proper is concluded.

I only replied to the Indians that it was well, and that I was much pleased to meet them.[13] I asked for the captain of the Moqui; and he (the Zuñian) spoke to me thus: "The Cazique does not wish to come here; who knows where he has hidden himself?" I urged him to say to the persons who were present that I was a padre of the Españoles of Sonora, and of other Indians like themselves; that I had come through the rest of the nations and had seen their lands; that it were fitting (*siguiero*) that they should send me the children [to be baptized] ; that I came to declare unto them things of God. With that arose the Indian, and spake in a low voice to those who were near; and then he asked me if I wished to go to sleep in the house where he was staying. I did not accept this offer, inasmuch as it was not made by the proprietor (*dueño*). During the night, as the people sleep on the housetops or corridors, there was much noise; some were singing, others played the flute, yet others conversed loudly. After awhile a shrill-voiced person broke forth (*uno de voz atiplada soltose*), who in a high key delivered a very long harangue or sermon. I observed a total silence whilst he preached, and at the conclusion of his discourse the bustle (*bullicio*) was resumed. After another while another hoarse voice burst out and made an argument, during which the same silence was preserved. This night I also noticed various men passing back and forth through the streets, especially two or three hours before daybreak, just as would be the case (*como se fuera*) in large pueblos of Españoles. I was lying down when my friends the Yabipais arrived, whom I advised of the determination I had formed to go to Zuñi; to which they answered me that they were not going with me, and that it would be better that I should return to the Jabesúa. They also added, that the Moquis would have none of me (*no me querian*). I then gave them some white shells wherewith they might purchase maiz, and they told me that not even at this price (*por ellas*) would the Moquis part with any, and for that very reason did they not wish to take them (the shells). I entered into greater concern when I saw that the two other young men brought me back the (shells) that I had given them on the road; for from this action I inferred that the (people) of the pueblo had caused them to look with suspicion upon my gifts.[19]

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[13] *Encontrarlos*: to meet those who were standing about while he was talking with the Zuñian.

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[19] No doubt some old Trojan of a Moqui had said to these young fellows, in substance: "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" They were not hostile; they were simply afraid of the white man's "medicine," which included his crucifix, breviary, rosary, sea-shells, and even his tobacco. How could they tell

July 3. As soon as it was dawn came the three young Indians of Zuñi, to whom I imparted the new resolution, that I would not go to their pueblo, much as I desired to do so; and I told them my reasons: since I was to be unaccompanied by any of the Yabipais I could not well return by way of Moqui, of whose Indians I should have cause to be afraid if I were to return without those companions, and even though the Zuñians might bring me back to Moqui they could not take me on to the Yabipais, with whom they had no friendship. It was not unknown to me that the Yutas were friends of the Españoles, and likewise of the Yabipais; but this business[14] would require the

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with which one of these articles Garcés would "hoodoo" them? They would be wise not to meddle with things they did not understand. Could they ever forget what their own sages and soothsayers had told them of the year 1680? Had they not gods enough of their own to fear and propitiate without undertaking strange Spanish deities? The situation was certainly serio-comic. Like his master, Garcés had not where to lay his head; and in all that populous pueblo there was no one to take his hand, or offer him a morsel of food—him who had come so far, with such weariness, for his love of them and desire to save their souls. Our sympathies are with the good missionary, keeping his lonely vigil on the street corner, a-hungered and an outcast, alone in a crowd. But our judgment sides with the sagacious Moquis. They had the right of it, from their own point of view, and we cannot blame them.

[14] *Negocio*—Any idea he might have of going to the Yutas, or plan to that end.

journey to be prolonged, a new relay of beasts and a stock of presents for those same Indians, in all of which was I lacking; and moreover, the need of some escort would arise on certain portions of the route. As all these things would have to be procured in New Mexico, I took into consideration many contingencies, especially that of finding the señor governador with perhaps the same notions as the señor comandante of Monte-Rey,[15] holding this entrada to be pernicious, and by no means performed in the service of the king, as it had not been expressly ordered by his excellency (the viceroy). For these reasons I determined to write to the padre ministro of Zuñi, even though I did not know his name,[16] telling him that I had arrived at the pueblo of Moqui, having passed through the other intermediate nations, who had re-

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[15] Garcés did not know Governor Mendinueta, and was afraid of getting into official hot water with him, after his experience at San Gabriel with Rivera y Moncada: note [illegible], p. 252.

[16] His name was Fray Mariano Rosate. He was officially as padre at Zuñi in July, 1776, during the absence of Padre Silvestre Velez de Escalante, who happened just then to be away on his well-known exploration. Escalante's whole incumbency at Zuñi seems to have been 1774-78, with several temporary absences. It appears from the title-page (obligingly furnished to me by Mr. Frank H. Cushing, May 4, 1899) of "El Libro 2° de las Partidas Baptizadas en esta Mission y Pueblo de N. S^{ma} [Nuestra Santisima] Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi," for such was the full title of the Zuñi mission, that Escalante was the ministro doctrinero or resident missionary "de dicha Mission en el Año de 1775, dia 8 de Henero." From this date on, the baptismal entries show that he was continuously there until at least the 28th of November of that year; and again other

entries appear, signed by him, from the 7th of January to the 5th of March, 1776. We give here one of his autographs, in facsimile. Then on the 3d of May, 1776, appears for the first time the name of his successor, or locum tenens, Fray Mariano Rosate. He was followed by Andrés Garcia, 1779-80; and he, by Manuel Vega and Rafael Benavides, 1788. Dan. Martinez was at El Paso and Zuñi before 1792.

The first mission among the Zuñis was established by Fray Francisco Letrado (erroneously called "Detrado" by Ladd, Story of New Mexico, p. 116, 1891), evidently in 1629. At this date Letrado came to New Mexico with Fray Estevan de Perea and 29 other missionaries, being first assigned to the Jumanos east of the Rio Grande, then to the Zuñis, doubtless in the same year; for before 1630 there were two churches among the Zuñis, one at Hawiku (near the present farming village of Ojo Caliente), the other probably at Halona on the site of and across the river (Rio Zuñi) from the present Zuñi pueblo. Letrado applied for permission to establish himself among the Zipias or Cipias, a tribe now known only by name, but said to be still traditionally familiar to the Zuñis as Tsipia-Kwe. His application was denied and Fray Martin de Arvide was sent in his stead, via Zuñi. On Sunday, Feb. 22, 1630 or 1632 (according to varying authorities), Letrado was murdered by the Zuñis while they were being urged to attend mass, and five days later (Feb. 27) Arvide met a similar fate, probably at the hands of the Zuñis who followed him on his way to the mysterious Zipias. For the establishment of the first Moqui missions see note [8], p. 395. One of the oldest and most interesting of the cryptograms now or lately legible on the famous Inscription Rock or El Morro of New Mexico, 35 miles east of Zuñi, is that which records the fact of Padre Letrado's death. Quite a bit of modern history attaches to this inscription. In a report of ceived me with great gusto; but that (the people of) this pueblo of Oraibe did not so much as wish to look

the Secretary of War, giving certain Reconnoissances by various officers of the U. S. Army, published as Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64, 31st Congr., 1st Sess., 8vo, Washington, 1850, is an invaluable paper by Lieut. J. H. Simpson, with numerous plates (pll. 65-74) illustrating in lithographic facsimile many transcriptions of these Rock legends, as made by himself and Mr. R. H. Kern, Sept. 17, 1849. Among these is the one question on pl. 68, which looks something like the following—as nearly as type will reproduce the characters:

SE $\overset{as}{\bar{\text{P}}}$ A 23 D $\overset{o}{\text{M}}$ D 1632 f^{o}

AC A Beng^{so} D $\overset{to}{\text{M}}$ Dl P^{e} lebad^{o}
LVJAn

This is a sort of cipher to which Lieut. Simpson had no clew, and he missed it altogether in translating, on p. 124 of the book, as follows: "Country of Mexico, in the year 1632, folio (some characters not intelligible), Bengoso, by order of Father Liebado Lugan" !! This is enough to remind us of the famous "Bill Stumps his mark" in Dickens' Pickwick! Simpson got "Country of Mexico" by mistaking the "PA23" for the word "pais," and the "Dm^{o}" for "del Mexico"; then the apparent "f^{o}" for "folio" (this being A^{o}, for Año); then he was stumped; then he took "M^{to}" for "mandado," "order"; and finished with a misprint of the padre's name as a part of the name of the person who inscribed the legend.

The cipher was explained by Charles F. Lummis, who calls it "the Lujan of 1632" in his Strange Corners, New York, 1892: see his article on the "Stone Autograph Album," pp. 170-180, where the glyph appears nearly as follows—for it cannot be exactly reproduced in type:

THE OÑATE AND LETRADO INSCRIPTIONS ACCORDING TO SIMPSON
(Compare the latter with the next plate)

1667
letrado

THE TRUE LETRADO INSCRIPTION OF 1632
From Photograph by Charles F. Lummis

at me; and that I should esteem it a favor if he would send copies of this letter to the señor gover-

SE $\overset{on}{p^{=}}$ A 23 D $\hat{M}$ D 1632 A^{os}
AlA Beng^{za} D M^{te} Dl p^{e} Letrado
LvjAn

This stands for "Se pasaron á 23 de Marzo de 1632 años á la benganza de Muerte del padre Letrado. Lujan"; or, in English—"They passed on March 23, 1632, to the avenging of the death of Father Letrado. Lujan." The then governor of New Mexico was Francisco de la Mora Ceballos, who sent this expedition to avenge the murder, under Maestro de Campo Tomás de Albizu, and the inscriber, Lujan, was a soldier on this expedition. Father Letrado had come to New Mexico in 1628 (Lummis, after Vetancurt) or 1629 (Bandelier), and been first a missionary to the Jumanos; on the founding of the mission at Zuñi in 1629 he was sent there, only to be killed on February 22, 1630 or 1632, as already said. We find the facts in Vetancurt, Cronica de la Provincia, etc., iii, pp. 320, 321, where we read.

"Estos [the people of the Zuñi pueblo of Aguico = Hawiku, one of the Seven Cities of Cibola] se rebelaron el año de [16-]32 y mataron al venerable padre fray Francisco Letrado, cuya vida está en el Menologio á 22 de Febrero, y quemaron la iglesia." . . And on turning to Vetancurt's Menologio Franciscano, pp. 52, 53, we find further as follows, kindly transcribed for us by Mr. Hodge:

El venerable padre fray Francisco Letrado, natural de Talavera de la Reina, hijo de la Santa Provincia de Castilla, pasó con deseo de convertir almas para Dios á la Provincia del Santo Evangelio; y viendo que estaban convertidos, decia que su intento principal era buscar que convertir, y así pasó al Nuevo-México el año de 1628 con los treinta religiosos que nador and to the reverendo padre custodio, to whom I commended myself with the greatest respect; in-

fueron á la conversion. Entró en la nueva conversion de los humanas; bautizó á muchos; edificó iglesia y morada para religioso; y habiendo oido decir que en Zuni (provincia populosa) habia que convertir, pidió el pasar á ella, donde juntó en cinco pueblos muchos infieles que catequizó y bautizó. Estando ya instruidos, no le permitia su fervor dejar de buscar nuevas conversiones: pidió licencia para pasar á los Zipias; y pareciéndole al custodio que seria de mas servicio á Dios que acabase la obra empezada donde estaba, no le concedió la licencia. Envió al padre fray Martin de Arvide, que pasando por allí le quedó el padre Letrado muy envidioso, y le rogaba le dejase despachar al prelado para la permuta; pero Dios nuestro Señor, que dispone las cosas segun sus investigables juicios, permitió que se quedase el uno, y se fuese, por la obediencia, el otro, para darles la corona á entrambos. Un domingo de cuaresma, viendo que tardaban algunos en venir á misa, salió á buscarlos: encontró con unos idólatras, y encendido en fervor les empezó á predicar; y viendo se conjuraban á quitarle la vida, con un Cristo pintado en una cruz que traía al cuello para su defensa, puesto de rodillas y encomendándose al Señor, murió predicando, flechado. No fué halladó su cuerpo de los soldados cristianos, porque los bárbaros se lo llevaron, quitándole de la cabeza la piel para sus bailes gentílicos. Deseando tener alguna reliquia, vieron que por el aire cayó en manos de los soldados una cuerda, que la dividieron en pedazos. Padeció á 22 de Febrero del año de 1632.

As to the conflict of dates, Bandelier, in Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe, 1892, p. 98, says: "The dates of these events are positive as far as the days and the months are concerned. Strange to say, the same certainty does not prevail in regard to the year. Vetancurt places the death in 1632. A document of undoubted authenticity found by me in the archives of Mexico, fixes the

PRESENT CHURCH AT ZUÑI, NEW MEXICO (DISUSED 1897)
Photograph by A. C. Vroman

cluding also in this letter some (account) of the petty

date at 1630. Which is to be regarded as right? Benavides, who wrote in 1630, leads to the inference that at his time the murders had not yet been committed. But Benavides was in Spain when he wrote the 'Memorial' to the king, and he had left New Mexico in 1628. He might have been in Mexico even when the tragedy occurred and not have heard of it before his sailing for Spain. I therefore incline in favor of the date 1630, until better informed." Aside from the documentary evidence thus referred to, we may agree with Mr. Hodge that the statement of this eminent authority seems reasonable from the point of view of time. It seems hardly likely that the news of the murder of Letrado could have reached Santa Fé, the usual red-tape been unwound, and the avenging party have come within a day's march of Zuñi, within a month from the date of the tragedy.

Zuñi is identical with the present pueblo of the same name in western central New Mexico. It is built on a part of the site of Halona, one of the Seven Cities of Cibola, to visit which, in search of gold, the practically fruitless expedition of Francisco Vasquez Coronado was organized in 1540. The Zuñi Indians (who call themselves Shíwi or Ashiwi) occupied seven pueblos, the ruins of which are still readily traceable. Their first missionary was Fray Francisco Letrado, as above said. The Zuñis took an active part in the Pueblo revolt of 1680, killing their priest, Fray Juan de Bal, and fleeing to the summit of Tâaiylone, popularly called Thunder mountain. The population has diminished, during the last fifty years, from about 3,000 to approximately 1,400 (nearly 200 having succumbed to the smallpox epidemic of 1898-99). Writers on the Zuñis and their tribal range during three and a half centuries have greatly confused the names, some of the attempts being Cabri, Cami, Cibola-Zuñi, Çuni, Cuñi, Juni, Luni, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (mission name), Siñis, Soones, Sounès, happenings.[17] The letter having been delivered, and the Zuñi Indians having started on the road, there

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Sumi, Suñi, Sunne, Suny, Tennis, Truni, Tunis, Zani, Zouni, Zugnis, Zum, Zumis, Zun, Zuña, Zuñe, Zunia, Zuñi-Cibola, Zunie, Zunni, Zuñu, Zuny, Zura, Zuyi, etc.—F. W. H.

[17] "Que estimaria remitiese aquella carta por su traslado al S^{or} Governador y al R. P. Custodio, á quienes me encomendaba con el mayor respeto, inqiriendo en esta carta alguna de las menudencias acontezidas." This letter of July 3, intrusted to the Zuñians, was duly delivered by them to the padre of their pueblo, in the absence of Escalante, to whom it was addressed, and who does not appear to have received it before starting on his long tour; the original or a copy finally reached its ulterior destination in Mexico. It was probably the first word direct from Garcés since his departure from San Gabriel. The document is extant: Bancroft refers to it, Hist. Ariz. and N. M., p. 263, and says that it was copied in N. Mex. Doc. MS., 828-30 (= Archivo General de Mexico, MS., vol. xxv). Desiring to obtain a copy if possible, I requested Mr. F. W. Hodge to correspond with Dr. Nicolas León, who promptly replied by sending with his compliments a copy made by his own hand, and the following memorandum: "Existe esta carta MS. en el Vol. xxv folio 260 frente y vuelto de 'Documentos para la Historia de Nuevo Mexico' con fojas 355 en nuestro archivo general de la Nacion. En este volumen es la unica carta del P. Garcés que en el se encuentra. Scripsi & contuli, Mexico, Enero 10 de 1899. N. León." So here is the document, in the original Spanish:

> Copia de la Carta del R. P. Garcés, escrita desde Oraibe en Moqui, al Ministro de Zuñi.
>
> Viva Jesus.
>
> Muy Rmo y carisimo hermano: despues de haber caminado por el rio desde su desembogue hasta 38 grados de altura, y

came to me after a little while the old Yabipai, with another Indian, one of the leading men of Moqui, who urged me to pay a visit to the other pueblos of the vicinity, where they might give me something to eat; for they were unwilling to do so here.

I saddled the mule and descended the declivity which is at the eastern side of the pueblo, accom-

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por las naciones que pueblan los intermedios del rio hasta Sonora los nuevos establecimientos de Monterrey he pasado hasta este pueblo de Moqui, donde ningun obsequio me han hecho, ni aun querido arrimarse quando en las demas naciones se han excedido en obsequiarme, y cinco del rio Colorado estan dispuestos a recibir Padres, y los del Rio Gila de nacion Pima: gustoso fuera por esa, pero estando estos Moquis disgustados, era preciso volver con tropa e Indios Cristianos y traer regalo, por lo que me habia de demorar por contestar con el Sr. Gobernador. Me alegraré que V. P. goce de perfecta salud, tenemos camino para comunicarnos en estableciendose presidio, y Misiones en el Colorado, y para pasar ganados de esta provincia, y el comercio de Sonora, puede que se asegure, porque los Apaches, que pueden estorvarlo son enemigos de los Yumas y Xomajabas [Jamajabs = Mojaves] que creo vengan Padres con brevedad, y ellos dicen, que no negan á los Españoles, ni estos á ellos. No hay lugar para mas con ésta y su contenido suplico a V. P. avise al Señor Gobernador a quien me encomiendo de veras, sabiendo que gobierna esa provincia a satisfaccion de todos lo mismo el M. R. P. Custodio. Moqui y Julio 3 de 76. = B. L. [sic] a V. P. su menor hermano Fr. Francisco Garcés. = M. R. P. Ministro de Zuñi. Concuerda con su original, que queda en mi poder y a que me refiero. = Dominguez.

panied by those two, and followed thereto by a great crowd of boys and girls. They pointed out to me therefrom the road by which I was to go to the other pueblos, and this was all that they offered (to do). I objected to this, for I saw that they were about to leave me all alone; and not even would the Yabipai accompany me. Observing my objection, the old man became much excited (*se enfervorisó mucho*), and told me that I and my mule both knew we were hungry, and must go to the (other) pueblos; that he would wait here for five days, because he had not yet finished selling the mezcal and other things which he had brought. With this I resigned myself to go alone, and having completed the descent of the declivity entered upon a plain of sandy soil, to which on the south no end was visible. On one side and the other of the road there were many fields of maiz and beans, and therein various Indians working at their respective employments. Having crossed this valley I ascended another mesa similar to that of the pueblo (of Oraibe); whereupon I saw another level tract (*llanada*) not less extensive than the former. On this mesa I found some small flocks (*atajitos*) of sheep with two pastors, and one woman who was going with her hatchet in search of wood. Yelled the three when I drew near to them, whereupon was I completely convinced of the ill will of those persons; and considering that, as the proverb hath it (*segun la voz comun*), "*mas vale malo conocido que bueno por conozer*," [18] and that I still had in the preceding pueblo my friends the Yabipais, I determined to retrace my short journey, which altogether had been thus far three leagues,[19] after giving my mule a chance to feed. At dusk I ascended the acclivity at the entrance of the pueblo, wondering at the multitude of people that I saw there were (*que habia y ví*); forasmuch as they were now returned from labor they all stood on the house-tops, gazing at me whilst I passed, mounted on my mule, in search of the corner of the night before, which I found after some turns.

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[18] Like most pithy and sententious sayings, this is difficult to translate literally, though the sense is obvious. The nearest English I can construct is: "More is a bad acquaintance worth than a good (one) to be known," *i. e.*, "better a known evil than an unknown good." It reminds us that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. Perhaps the best translation may be found in Hamlet's soliloquy, where the Prince of Denmark would

> " . . . rather bear those ills we have,
> Than fly to others that we know not of."

Garcés knew how bad the Mokis of Oraibi were, and would take no chances of finding those of the other pueblos any better; so he preferred to return. This reminds me of an incident that happened to me in the Sweetgrass hills of Montana in 1874. I sent a hunter out for meat, giving him a mule to ride and pack in his game. He shot a mountain sheep, and was preparing to put the carcass on the mule, when the latter objected strenuously, broke away, and ran to camp, leaving him afoot. When he came in I told him to take another mule and go out again next day. "Oh, no, doctor! I know how bad that mule can be, and am taking no chances on any other one."

There is a parallel Spanish proverb which says: "Mas vale ajuste malo que pleito bueno"—a bad settlement is better than a good lawsuit. And again: "Mas vale mala composicion que buen pleito"—a bad compromise is better than good litigation.

[19] Garcés went down the Oraibi bluff in a mile or so, and kept on eastward with some southing across the valley which inter-

There are in this pueblo two languages, and I noted that even the modes of singing are diverse, as are the two classes of persons, who are distinguished from each other in the stature and color of both males and females (*Indios y Indias*). There are some of a very light (*claro*) and somewhat ruddy (*rubio*) complexion, as well-formed as the Yabipais; there are others small, dark, and ill-favored. When they go away from the pueblo, one and the other differ little from the Españoles in dress; I saw them wearing a leather jacket

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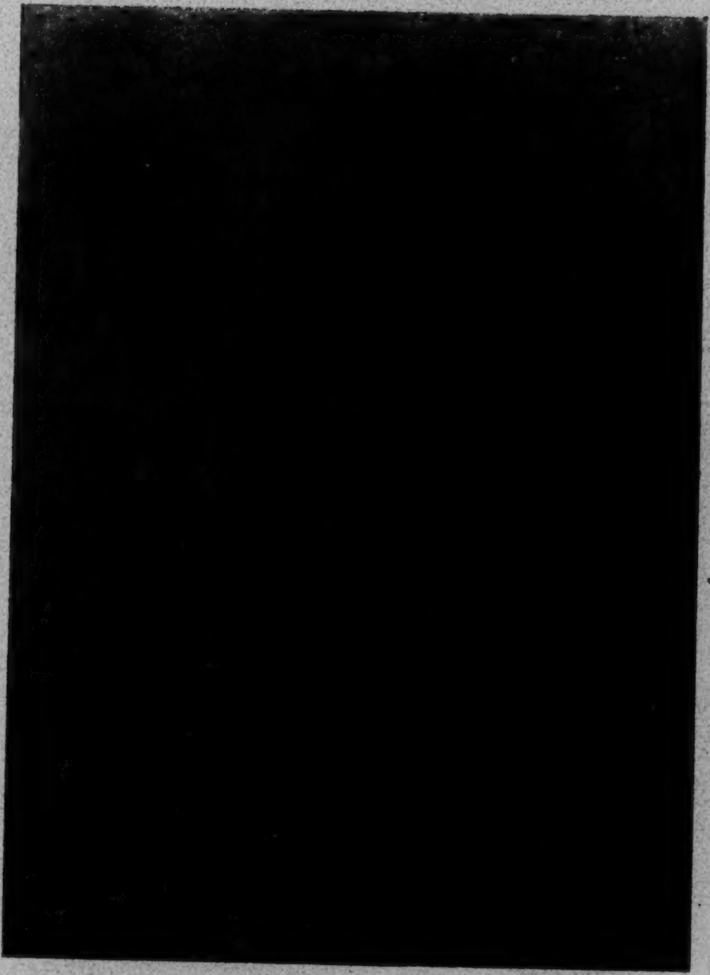
venes between the Oraibi mesa and the middle one, which latter has three of the other pueblos on its southern bluff borders. The distance to the top of this next mesa is about seven miles. When he got there, he found the road forked, one trail keeping on eastward to Hano, Walpi, and Sichomovi on the third mesa, the other turning south on the second mesa to Shumopovi, Shipaulovi, and Mashongnovi. Perhaps the uncertainty which to take was a factor in determining him rather to return to the ills he knew than fly to others he knew not. Like many another indefatigable traveler he could not find his way anywhere alone; he was perfectly helpless, on the back of his mule and in the hands of his God.



A MOKI MAIDEN, SHOWING MODE OF HAIRDRESSING NOTED BY GARCÉS
Photograph by G. Wharton James

fitted with sleeves (*cuera mangas ajustadas*), trousers, boots, and shoes. Their weapons are arrows and spears. Inside the pueblo they regularly wear moccasins, sleeves of striped woolen, or of black blanketing, such as they make themselves. The women with a black blanket make for themselves a smock without sleeves reaching to their heels, and put on over this another, either white or black, like a square mantilla; the black smock is fitted with a girdle of various colors. They neither gum nor paint themselves, nor did I see them ornamented either with shells or ear-rings. The hair they wear done up in two braids; the old women in a former Spanish style, the young ones with a puff over each ear, or all tied up on one side; it would appear from this that they take great care of the hair.[30]

Notwithstanding the fact that no one did me a single favor, they gave me a concept that there are many good (persons) among them, and that the trouble was, as the Zuñian told me, with the chief or chiefs (*cavesa ó cabesas*), who ordered them that they should give me neither food nor shelter; which (mandate) they punctually obeyed. Various other reasons, besides their unwillingness to be baptized, or even to admit Españoles in their land, could there be for this order; such are, their having learned that I came through the Jamajabs their enemies, and that I had gone with other Españoles among the Yumas, friends of the Yabipais Tejua and of the Chemeguaba, with whom the Moquis are at war; so that they suspected my coming as that of a spy. Also they knew that I was padre ministro of the Pimas, who likewise are their enemies. This hostility had been told me by the old Indians of my mission, by the Gileños, and Cocomaricopas; from which information I have imagined (*he discurrido*) that the Moqui nation anciently extended to the Rio Gila itself. I take my stand (*fundome*, ground myself) in this matter on the ruins that are found from this river as far as the land of the Apaches; and that I have seen between the Sierras de la Florida and San Juan Nepomuzeno. Asking a few years ago some Subaipuris Indians who were living in my mission of San Xavier, if they knew who had built those houses whose ruins and fragments of pottery (*losá*, for *losa*) are still visible—as, on the supposition that neither Pimas nor Apaches knew how to make (such) houses or pottery, no doubt it was done by some other nation—they replied to me that the Moquis had built them, for they alone knew how to do such things; and added that the Apaches who are about the missions are neither numerous nor valiant; that toward the north was where there were many powerful people; "there went we," they said, "to fight in former times (*antiguamente*); and even though we attained unto their lands we did not surmount the mesas whereon they lived." It is confirmatory of this that I have observed among the Yabipais some circumstances bearing upon this information; for they brought me to drink a large earthenware cup very like the potsherds that are found in the house called (Casa) de Moctezuma and on the Rio Gila. Asking them whence they had procured it, they answered me that in Moqui there is much of that. As I entered not into any house of Moqui, I could not assure myself by sight; but from the street I saw on the roofs some large, well-painted ollas. Also have the Pimas Gileños told me repeatedly that the Apaches of the north came anciently to fight with them for the Casa that is said to be of Moctezuma; and being sure that the Indians whom we know by the name of Apaches have no house nor any fixed abode, I persuaded myself that they could be the Moquis who came to fight; and that, harassed by the

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[30] Not being overconfident of my qualifications as a fashion reporter for the Moqui ladies of a hundred years ago, I will give what Garcés says: "Las mugeres con una fresada prieta se hazen una tunica talár sin mangas, y se ponen encima otra, ya blanca ya negra como mantilla quadrada, la tunica prieta se la ajustan con una ceñidor de varios colores. No se embijan ni pintan, ni les vi adorno de cuentas ni aretes. El pelo lo lleban hecho dos trenzas, las viejas al modo antiguo de España, las mozas con un moño encimo de cada oreja, ó todo amarrado á un lado: échase de ver en esto que cuydan mucho del pelo."

Pimas, who always have been numerous and valiant, they abandoned long ago these habitations on the Rio Gila, as also have they done this with that ruined pueblo which I found before my arrival at Moqui and of which I have made mention above; and that they retired to the place where now they live, in a situation so advantageous, so defensible, and with such precautions for self-defense in case of invasion. Within this pueblo I saw no water; but at the edge of the bluff (*cuesta*) on the east I saw a very copious spring of water, though I did not observe that it was running; the descent thereto is by some steps well formed of stone, and all round it is a curbing of the same material.

As soon as I reached the desired corner of the street I disposed the things in order to take rest, for it was already night; and presently there came a young man of the Yabipais, and without saying to me one word he took away the mule.

July 4. As soon as day broke I heard singing and dancing in the streets; the rout (*el bayle*) passed by the (place) where I was, and then only did I see that some of the Indians were painted red, with feathers and other decorations on the head, beating the sound of the dance on a kind of drum (*batea*)[21] with two small sticks, to which the flutes played an accompaniment; and many persons kept time to the music (*seguia el baile mucha gente*) as well through the streets as on the house-tops. I observed that in some places the procession paused. The sun having now risen, I saw coming nigh unto me a great multitude of people, (the sight of) which caused me some fear of losing my life. There came forward four Indians who appeared

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[21] The instrument which Garcés calls *batea*, and I have translated "kind of drum," was a deep tray, usually of oval form,

carved from a single piece of wood, like the chopping-bowl our cooks use. This was beaten with sticks to make a noise, and thus became a sort of kettledrum, probably as musical as a Chinese tomtom is, or a tin pan would be if so treated. *Las flautas* of the text (*los pitos*, pipes or fifes, in the Beaumont MS.) is quite correctly translated "flutes," as the Moquis are well known to have long had an instrument blown by mouth to which the term "flute" could properly be and usually is applied. In fact, the *baile* which Garcés witnessed was none other than the famous Flute Dance of the Moquis, for which they have long been and are still celebrated. It was therefore not a demonstration for or against the poor priest, but a regular religious ceremonial, the time for performing which is now known to have been determined by certain phases of the moon. I am not quite sure that "kept time to the music" is actually the idea of the clause *seguia el baile;* but my MS. admits of no other construction, as people who stayed on the house-tops were certainly not following the rout or procession through the streets. The Beaumont MS. has: *siguendo el bayle mucho gente por las calles, y por las asoteas*, apparently meaning that the rabble ran after the procession through the streets and over the housetops, as they easily could do. The pub. Doc. says simply, p. 331: *seguia mucha gente.*

to be principals, of whom the tallest one asked me with a grimace (*risueño*),[22] "For what hast thou come here? Get thee gone without delay—back to thy land!" I made them a sign to be seated, but they would not. I arose with the Santo Cristo in my hand, and partly in Yuma, partly in Yabipai, and partly in Castillian, with the aid of signs, which are the best language to use with Indians, I explained to them my route, naming the nations whom I had seen, those who had kissed el Cristo; I told them that all these had been good to me, that I also loved the Moquis, and for that reason I came to say to them that God is in the sky, and that this señor whom they saw on the cross was the image of God, Jesu-Christo, who is good. To this responded an old man in Castillian language and making a wry face, "No! No!" Then I said, "Fetch my mule!" After a little the Yabipai youth appeared with her, and having arranged my things I mounted on her back, showing by my smiling face how highly I appreciated their pueblo and their fashions.

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[22] I have necessarily turned the climax a little; but Garcés himself is satirical, and how close to the original I have kept myself may be judged by the following, beginning where the tall fellow cheerfully undertook to make the padre "walk Spanish": "Por que has venido aqui? Vete sin detencion otra vez á tu tierra. Hizeles seña para que sentasen, pero no quisieron. Levanteme con el Santo Cristo en la mano, y medio en Yuma, medio en Yabipai y medio en Castellano, con la ayuda de las señas que son el mejor lenguage para los Indios les expliqué mi derrotero, nombrandoles las naciones que habia

visto, las que habian besado el Cristo, y que todas habian estado buenas para conmigo, que yo tambien queria á los Moquis, y que por eso venia á decirles que Dios está en el cielo, y que aquel Señor que vian en la cruz imagen era de Dios Jesu-Christo, que es bueno: respondia á esto un viejo en lengua castellana y torciendo la cara nó nó. Entonzes dixe traygan mi mula. A poco vino el mozo Yabipai con ella y dispuestas las cosas monté á caballo alabando mucho con cara de risa su pueblo y sus vestidos."

Fr Silvestre Velez de Escalante

CHAPTER X.

FROM MOQUI TO MOJAVE, JULY, 1776.

I set forth accompanied by the whole retinue until I was outside the pueblo, where, they having taken leave of me, I began my return by the very route of the entrada. I soon lost my way among the sandy places and the small peach orchards, without being able to find a sign of the small spring of water that I had seen on my coming. I found a small well (*posito*) whence with great fatigue, now afoot and now on muleback, I was able to make the ascent of the mesa, on whose smooth surface I saw some junipers, which were the only ones I had seen this side of the Rio Jaquesila. I found the place of descent after many turnings, and soon lost myself again, taking the road that goes to the Yutas[1] who live north of Moqui and

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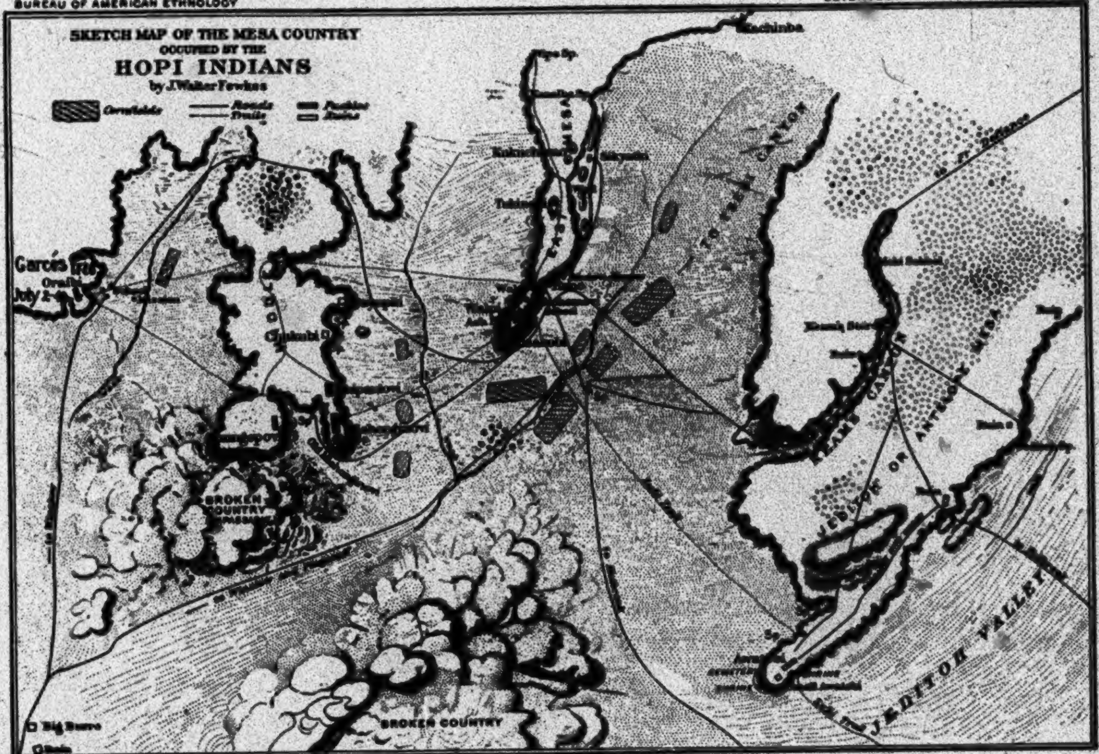
[1] Instead of continuing on the road by which he had come, past the small spring, Garcés wandered to the right, and fetched up in a recess at the well which is about 2½ miles from Oraibi, under the bluff. There he had to climb the mesa again, follow it a little ways, and descend again from it to the plain below. Here he kept to the right too far, and got on to "the road that goes to the Yutas," northward with little westing.


SKETCH MAP OF THE MESA COUNTRY
OCCUPIED BY THE
HOPI INDIANS
by J. Walter Fewkes
Cornfields
Roads
Trails
Pueblos
Ruins
Kachinba
MESA
TO SEGI CANYON
KEAMS CANYON
JEDDITO OR ANTELOPE MESA
JEDDITO VALLEY
Keams's Store
Garcés Trip
Oraibi
July 2-4
BROKEN COUNTRY
BROKEN COUNTRY
Big Burro

PUBLISHED BY PERMISSION OF THE BUREAU.

are enemies only of this pueblo of Oraibe and of the Moqui concave [*sic*].

The names of the pueblos of Moqui,[2] according to

If he had continued in that direction he would have fetched up at Lee's ferry over the Colorado, near the northern border of Arizona. There is a multiplicity of confusing trails all through the Moqui, Zuñi, and Navajo country, which no stranger should undertake without a guide.

The *Moqui concave* or *Muqui concabe* of Garcés, rendered in both places *Muqui concabe* in the Beaumont MS. and *Munquiconcabe* in the pub. Doc., p. 332, does not mean "concave" or "hollow" Moqui; but what it means is not clear at first sight. The phrase is not Spanish, and Mr. Hodge suggests in a letter to me that it is a mangled form of the word Moencapi or Moencopie, the name of the Oraibe farming place or suburb which has already come up in my note on Moencopie wash. I have myself no doubt that he has hit it exactly right. This interpretation of *Muqui concabe* is borne out by the form Munquiconcabe (one word, with an *n* in the first syllable) which we find in print, and by the fact that it renders the rest of Garcés' list of names much more nearly correct.

[2] MOKI: Spanish form, *Moqui*, evidently derived from the Zuñi name *A'-mu-kwe*, an opprobrious epithet, although *moki* in the Moki language signifies "dead." Their own name is Hópituh-shinumuh ("peaceful people"), abbreviated to Hopituh and Hopi, the last form now being generally applied to the people by ethnologists. They are a group of Indians occupying six villages on a large desert reservation in northeastern Arizona. They first became definitely known to civilization in 1540, when Francisco Vasquez Coronado, having reached Granada, one of the "Seven Cities of Cibola" (identified as the ruined Zuñi pueblo of Hawiku, in western New Mexico), learned from the natives of those pueblos of a province of seven

the way the Yabipais pronounced them to me, are: Sesepaulaba; Masagnebe; Jano; Gualpa; Muqui con-

towns, collectively called "Tusayan," variously estimated as being situated from 20 to 35 leagues northwestward. Dispatching a small force under Pedro de Tobar, accompanied by Fray Juan de Padilla, the province was visited, and after a brief passage at arms the natives succumbed to the Spaniards. It was on this journey that news was first gained by white men of the existence of the Grand cañon of the Colorado river, which was visited the same year by another party of Coronado's followers under Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas. There is some doubt regarding the situation and composition of the Tusayan pueblos of the middle of the sixteenth century. In the opinion of Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, our leading authority on the Hopi Indians, the Tusayan of Coronado's time was situated considerably southward of its present location, probably on or near the Rio Colorado Chiquito, and the migration to the present area occupied by the Hopi villages occurred between 1540 and the time of Antonio de Espejo's visit in 1583. However this may be, the estimates of distance from Cibola to Tusayan, as given by Coronado's chroniclers, certainly accord more closely with Dr. Fewkes' theory of the location than with the actual distance from Zuñi to the Hopi pueblos of the present time.

None of the names of the Tusayan villages are recorded until 1583, when Espejo visited the province of "Mohoce," which, according to his statement, contained five large towns, with 50,000 (!) inhabitants: Comupavi (Shumopovi), Majanani (Mashongnovi), Gaspé (doubtless Gualpé or Walpi), Olalla (Oraibi), and Aguato or Zaguato (Awatobi). All of these save "Aguato" are mentioned indefinitely, and it is now possible to identify them only through resemblance of their names to modern forms. In 1604 "Mohóce" or "Mohoqui" was visited by Juan de Oñate, who mentions the villages of Mohoqui, Naybé, Xumupami, Cuanrabi, and Esperiez, while among the chiefs the cabe [*sic*]; and this pueblo of Muca which the Zuñis name Oraybe, and it was in this that I was. The Yutas, enemies of the last two pueblos, live on the one and the other side of the Rio Colorado in the very confluences (*juntas*) of the two rivers that compose it.

name Aguatuyba appears. It is difficult to identify all of these names. Naybé is evidently a misprint of Oraybe or Oraibi, Xumupami of Shumopovi, while the chief's name, Aguatuyba, was apparently intended for the important town of Awatobi. We are left to surmise (assuming the Hopi villages of 1583 and of 1598 to have been the same) the proper pairing of the unidentified names given by Oñate and Espejo respectively; and it cannot be satisfactorily done.

The first active missionary work among the Hopi Indians was begun about 1629, when Francisco Porras, with Andrés Gutierrez and Cristobal de la Concepcion arrived at Awatobi, which was named San Bernardino in honor of the day. Porras was poisoned by the natives June 28, 1633, but the fate of his companions and the missions to which they were assigned is not known. In 1650 José de Espeleta became missionary at San Francisco (or San Miguel) de Oraibi, the westernmost of the Hopi pueblos; in 1674 José Trujillo assumed charge of San Bartolomé de Shumopovi (with the visita of Mashongnovi), and in the same year José de Figueroa and Agustin de Santa Maria went to Tusayan and became established at the missions of San Bernardino de Awatobi and Walpi respectively (the latter being reported as a visita or sub-mission of Oraibi). Thus, at the time of the great Pueblo revolt against Spanish authority in 1680, Tusayan contained four missionary priests in charge of five villages, all of whom were slain by the Indians on August 10 of the year named.

All the pueblos, including those of the Hopi, enjoyed immunity from Spanish interference until 1692, when Diego de

I learned the error of the road, and that the one which I took went to the Yutas, from two Moquis whom I

Vargas[1] reconquered the entire province of New Mexico; but although attempts were made to re-establish the missions, the Hopi remained obdurate, and the efforts of Padre Juan Garaicoechea, who, in 1700, visited Awatobi at the instance of the chief of Oraibi, were in vain, although he succeeded in baptizing some of the Awatobi natives.

Whether as the result of the efforts of some of the Hopi to encourage the re-establishment of the Spanish missions, or as the effect of the practice of witchcraft, the other villages joined in the destruction of Awatobi and the slaughter of most of its inhabitants, is not absolutely known, although Dr. Fewkes has recorded all the current traditions bearing on the subject. At any rate the fate of San Bernardino de Awatobi dates from the year 1700.

A few years later, probably not subsequently to 1710, a pueblo was established at Tusayan by refugee Tano or Tewa Indians (or both) from the Rio Grande in New Mexico. They were assigned a site at the head of the trail to East Mesa, where they met, who very affably showed me the way (*me encaminaron*) to that which I ought to take; and having of-

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[1] Much manuscript relating to his reconquest has escaped the ravages of time and official imbecility in the archives of New Mexico at Santa Fé, where I have examined it with some care, noting many of his autograph signatures. For example, one document of date July 30, 1692, signed "Don Diego deVargas ZapataLujan Ponse de Leon," begins as follows: "Enelpue^{o} delpaso delrio delnorte en trienta dias del mes de Julio de mil seis cientos y nobta y dosaños ante mi D^{n} Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponze de Leon Gov.^{or} y Capp.^{n} Gen^{l}. deeste dho R^{no} y pro Vin Cias de lanue^{a} mex,^{co}" etc. Expanding this into Spanish it reads: "En el pueblo del Paso del Rio del Norte, en trienta dias del mes de Julio de mil seiscientos y noventa dos años, ante mi Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponze de Leon, Gobernador y Cappitan general de este dicho Reyno y Provincias de la Nueva Mexico," etc. Or in English: "In the town of El Paso of the River of the North, on the 30th of the month of July of 1692, before me, Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponse de Leon, Governor and Captain General of this said Kingdom and Provinces of New Mexico," etc.—E. C.

built the present village of Hano, sometimes improperly called Tewa.

About the same time, or possibly during the period of the great revolt between 1680 and 1692, a Tewa village known as Payupki was founded on Middle Mesa by mixed Tiwa (or Tigua) and Tewa natives of Sandia on the Rio Grande. This pueblo was occupied about half a century, when, in 1742, they were induced to return to their former home in New Mexico. Sandia (Spanish, "watermelon"), like the village built in the Tusayan country, still bears the name Payupki. The ruined walls of this Middle Mesa town are still standing.

Not long after the abandonment of Payupki, or about the middle of the eighteenth century, another pueblo was built on East Mesa. It was called Sichomovi, and still exists as an occupied town, between Walpi and Hano. It was settled principally by two clans (one of them being of eastern origin), who resided first at Walpi, but through a trifling dispute abandoned that village and with the Badger people occupied the new site.

Yet another town was established in the eighteenth century, this time by people from Walpi and Mashongnovi, who erected their houses on Middle Mesa, on the site called Shipaulovi, "place of the peaches." So far as known, Garcés is the first writer to record the name of this village, although, as received from the mouths of the Yavapai, it became corrupted into "Sesepaulaba." The next reference to the town was by Juan A. Morfi, who recorded it under the name Xipaolabi, with the statement that it contained 14 families.

It will be seen that the seven Tusayan villages of Coronado's time were by no means identical with the one Tewa and six Hopi pueblos of Tusayan at the present time; indeed, with the possible exception of Oraibi, none of the villages occupies its sixteenth-century site, even if we accept the belief that the fered them tobacco and shells, these were they unwilling to receive. The same occurred to me with a

Tusayan province of 1540 covered practically the same area as it does to-day.

As above intimated, several attempts were made to rehabilitate the Hopi missions, both from the Rio Grande settlements and from the missionary establishments of Sonora; but all efforts in that direction were as fruitless as those of the indomitable Garcés, and the Hopi remained untouched by Spanish missionary influence after the massacre of their four padres above named, on the 10th of August, 1680.

The Tusayan villages of the present time, with their population and the corrupted forms of their names as given by various writers, as well as the synonyms of Hopi and Tusayan, are as follows:

Synonyms of Hopi and Tusayan: Amaque, Asay, Chinouns, Ci-nyn-mûh, Cummoaqui, Cummooqui, Hapitus, Ho-pees, Hopii, Hopite, Hópitû, Hopituh, Hó-pi-tûh-ci-nu-mûh, Ho-pi-tuh-lei-nyu-muh, Húpi, Maastoetsjkwe, Macueques, Magui, Maki, Maqui, Mawkey, Miqui, Moca, Mochi, Mochies, Mogeris, Mogin, Mogui, Mohace, Mohoce, Mohoqui, Mohotze, Moke, Mokee, Mokes, Moki (1630), Monquoi, Mooqui, Mo-o-tzā, Moq, Moqni, Moqua, Moques, Moquian pueblos, Moqui (1626), Moquinas, Moquinos, Moquins, Moquois, Moquy, Mosquies, Mouguis, Muca, Mu-gua, Munchies, Muquã, Muqui, Opii, Osaij, Osay, Pokkenvolk, She-noma, Shimû'-shinoma, Shinome, Shinu-mo, Shumi, Ta-sa-ûn, Tesayan, Tonteac, Tonteaca, Tontonteac, Totanteac, Totonteac, Totonteal, Totontoac, Tototeac, Tuçan, Tucano, Tucayan, Tuchano, Tusayn, Tu-se-an, Tusyan, Tuzan, Usaya, Usayan, Welch Indians, White Indians.

East Mesa Villages: (1) *Hano* (settled by the Tewa, of whom, by reason of intermarriage with the Hopi, few of pure blood survive); population (Fewkes' census, Dec., 1898), 159. *Synonyms:* Hanoki, Hánom, Há-no-me, Hánomuh, Harno, herder (*pastor*) whom I met with two others who were driving horses from the *potreros*. I entered into these

Haro, Iano, Jano (*Garces*), Janogualpa ("Jano" and "Gualpa" combined), Tano, Tanoquevi, Tanoquibi, Tanos, Tanus, Taucos, Té-é-wūn-nà (given as Zuñi name), Teh-wa, Tewa, Tewe, Towas.

(2) *Sichomovi* (= "at the wild current-bush mound"). Population 103. *Synonyms:* Chemovi, Ci-cho-mo-oi, Cichomovi, Citcum-ave, Ci-tcum-wi, Se-cho-ma-we, Sechumevay, Se-chum′-i-way, See-cho-mah-wee, Se-tcó-mo-we, Setshómavé, Setshómové, Sheeourkee, Shi-choam-a-vi, Shu-chum-a-vay, Shu-shono-vi, Si-choan-avi, Sichomivi, Si-chum′-a-vi, Sichumnavi, Sichumniva, Sichumovi, Sickmunari, Si-tchom-ovi, Sitcomovi, Si-tcum′-o-vi, Suchongnewy, Tsitsumevi, Tsi-tsumo-vi, Tsitúmovi.

(3) *Walpi* (= "place of the gap," or "place of the notch," referring to the gap in the East Mesa). Population 232. *Synonyms:* Cuelpe, Gualpa (*Garcés*), Gualpi, Gualpimas (the people of Walpi), Guelpee, Hoepeekee, Huallpi, Huál-pé, Hualpec, Hual-pee, Hualpi, Hualpy, Hualvi, Huatl-vi, Janogualpa ("Jano" and "Gualpa" combined), Jual-pi, Obiki, O-pé-ki, Opijique, Opquive, Opquivi, Quái-l-pi, San Bernardino Gualpi, Talvoi, Wa-ci-pi, Wall-a-pi, Wál-pé, Wathl-pi-è, Wolapi, Wolpi.

MIDDLE MESA VILLAGES: (4) *Mashongnovi* (the syncopated form of Mashonginiptuovi = "at the place of the other which remains erect," having reference to two irregular massive pillars of sandstone, one of which had fallen). Population 244. *Synonyms:* Buenaventura, Macanabi, Maconabi, Majanani, Manzana, Masagnebe (*Garcés*), Masagneve, Masanais, Massang-na-vay, Masaqueve, Ma-shong′-ni-vi, Mausand, Mee-shom-e-neer, Me-shong-a-na-we, Meshongnavi, Me-shung-a-na-we, Me-shung-ne-vi, Michonguave, Micongnivi, Mi-coñ-in-o-vi, Mi-con-o-vi, Mi-shan-qu-na-vi, Mi-shong-i-niv, Mi-

(pastures), where I lost myself once more, without being able to find my way out. Here overtook me

shong'-i-ni-vi, Mi-shong-in-ovi, Mishongnavi, Mishongop-avi, Mi-shon-na-vi, Monsonabi, Monsonavi, Mooshahneh, Mooshanave, Moo-sha-neh, Mooshongae nay vee, Mooshongeenayvee, Moo-song'-na-ve, Mosanais, Mosanis, Mosasnabi, Mosasnave, Moshanganabi, Moshóngnavé, S. Buen. de Mossaquavi, Moszasnavi, Mow-shai-i-na, Moxainabe, Moxainabi, Moxainavi, Moxionavi, Moxonaui, Moxonavi, Mú-shài-i-nà, Mushánganevi, Mushangene-vi, Mu-shang-newy, Mushanguewy, Mu-shá-ni, Mushaugnevy.

(5) *Shumopovi* (said to be from *chumoo*, a kind of grass used in making basketry, and *ovi*, locative). Population 225, prior to winter of 1898-99, when most are said to have died of smallpox. *Synonyms;* Ci-mo-pave, Ci-moth-pivi, Comupavi, Cuñopavi, Iogopani, Iogopapi, Jongoapi, Jongopabi, Jongopai, Jongopavi, Jongvapi, Jon-joncali, Samoupavi, San Bartolomé de Jongopavi, San Bartolomé de Jougopavi, San Bartolomé de Xongopabi, San Bartolomé de Xongopavi, San Bernardo de Jongopabi, San Bernabé de Jongopavi, She-mo-pa'-ve, Shi-ma-co-vi, Shimopavi, Shimopova, Shomonpavi, Shomoparvee, Shongápavé, Shong'-a-pa-vi, Shongoba-vi, Shongópavi, Show-mowth-pa, Shu-mo-pa-vay, Shu-mũth-pà, Shu-muth-pa, Shú-mũth-pài-ò-wà, Shung-a-pá-vi, Shung-o-pah-wee, Shung-o-pa-we, Shungopawee, Shung-op-ovi, Songoapt, Sumonpavi, Sumo-porvy, Sumopowy, Sumopoy, Xangopany, Xommapavi, Xongopabi, Xongopani, Xongopaui, Xongopavi, Xougopavi, Xumupami, Xumupani.

(6) *Shipaulovi* (= "the place of peaches"). Population 126. *Synonyms:* Cē-pa'-le-ve', Cipaulire, Ci-pau'-lo-vi, Cipolivi, Ci-pow-lovi, Clipalines, Guipaolave, Guipaulavi, Inparavi, Juparivi, Sesepaulaba (*Garcés*), Sesepaulabe, Shapalawee, Sha-pan-la-vi, Shapanlobi, Sha-pau-lah-wee, She-banlavi, Shebaula-vi, Shebaúlavi, She-bo-pav-wee, Sheepon-arleeve, Sheepowarleeve,

the Yabipais who had remained in the pueblo and who, as soon as I had set forth, did so themselves.

Shepálavé, Shepalawa, She-pa-la-wee, She-pau'-la-ve, Shepauliva, Shepolavi, She-powl-a-we, She-pau-la-ve, Shi-pau-a-luv-i, Shi-pau-i-luv-i, Shi-pau'-la-vi, Shi-pav-i-luv-i, Shi-powl-ovi, Shu-par-la-vay, Shupowla, Shupowlewy, Suponolevy, Supowolewy, Xipaolabi.

WESTERN MESA VILLAGE: (7) *Oraibi* (="place of the rock"). Population (estimated) 900. *Synonyms:* Areibe, Craybe, Espeleta, Rio Grande de Espeleta, Muca (*Garcés*), Musquins, Musquint, Naybé, Naybi, Olalla, Orabi, Oraiba, Oraibe, Oraibi, (1630), Oraiby, Ovaiva, Oraivaz, Oraive, Oraivi, Orambe, Orawi, Oraybe (1748), Oraybi, Orayha, Orayve, Orayvee, Orayvi, Orayxa, Orehbe, Oreiba, O-rey-be, Oriabe, Oriba, Oribe, Oribi, Oriva, Orribies, Oryina, Osaybe, O-zaí, Ozi, San Francisco de Oraibe, San Francisco de Oraybe, San Miguel Oraybi.

All the villages mentioned by Garcés, chiefly through information obtained from the Yavapai, are here accounted for with the exception of his "Moqui (or Muqui) Concabe," which can be no other than the Oraibi summer or farming village of Moenkapi or Moencopi, on Moencopi wash, about 50 miles westward from Oraibi. The present settlement consists of two irregular rows of one-story houses, built on the site of a more ancient village. The Mormons, who established a mill here some years ago, in a fruitless attempt to corner the Navaho wool market, assert that the present Moencopi was built within their recollection, and they consequently lay claim to the site by virtue of prior occupancy; but the disciples of Joseph Smith were evidently unfamiliar with Garcés' observations, half a century before Mormonism was dreamed of. The ruins referred to by Garcés are doubtless those still traceable on the western edge of the mesa summit about a quarter of a mile north of the village. The name of Moencopi is said to signify "place of

When they perceived me they began to shout "Jatapaiña!" which means Pima, laughing heartily at the same time. Then they again shouted, saying: "How hast thou come into these lands, being a Pima?" I knew by this that the aversion (*desvio*) of the Moquis haply proceeded in part from their having known that I came from the Pimas. They hurried me on (*dieronme mucha piesa*), in order that I should travel at speed, pointing to the land of the Yabipais Tejua or Apaches, where were visible many smokes, as a signal that they were gathering on the warpath. It was already night when we reached the Rio de San Pedro Jaquesila,[8] having gone thus far twelve leagues west-

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running water." It is natural to presume that as the Utes were unfriendly toward Oraibi proper, they were at enmity also with the occupants of its summer village. The Oraibis have always held somewhat aloof from the other Hopi or Moqui.

The total present population of Tusayan is nearly 2,000. The Hopi have been classified as belonging to the Shoshonean stock, but this is due to the fact that the Shoshonean clans seem to have made deeper impression on the tribal tongue than any other of the many accretions which from time to time, during many generations and from various localities, have contributed to the population of the present province of Tusayan.—F. W. H.

[8] Garcés could never have reached the Colorado Chiquito in that direction in 12 leagues, or in any other number of leagues. He means Moencopie wash, and this is additional evidence of the view taken in note [1], p. 393, which see. He is retracing his steps very nearly, and there will be little to note till he is again among the Havasupai of Cataract cañon.

northwest, with some aberrations (*rodeos*). The Yabipais here gave me to sup of that which they brought from Moqui, the same being some tortillas a little thicker than holy wafers (*ostias*, for *hostias*), resembling totopostle.[4]

July 5. I arrived at the rancheria of Yabipais, having gone a league and a half westnorthwest. The bearded captain and his people were much grieved that the Moquis had given me nothing to eat, and themselves did even more than at the going.[5] They had killed a beef,[6] and (it was) one of those head of cattle which run wild, on the whole of which did they feast me. On this occasion I became aware that it was the head of a cow that on the 6th day of May I took for that of a mule.[7] These Yabipais told me that they desired peace with the Jamajabs, esteeming and believing that which I said to them. They gave me information of a nation they call Guamua,[8] who were friends of the Moqui, and enemies of theirs. They named yet other nations whom they called Guanabepe, Gualliba, and Aguachacha,[9] who also are their enemies. I asked if the Yabipais Lipan[10] were good, and they said to me, "Yea" ; whence I inferred that the horses which these Yabipais possess will be of those stolen from us by these other Yabipais Lipan or Apaches, and that the hostility will be only with the Yabipais Tejua who live in the sierras of the Rio de la Asumpcion. Aside from the Yutas[11] and Chemeguabas of the Rio Colorado they named yet other nations, calling them Payuchas,[12] Japul, Gualta, and Ba-

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[4] *Totopostle* is a word apparently based on the Nahuatl verb *totopochtli*, to cook, roast, grill.—F. W. H.

[5] *Ellos lo hisieron mejor que á la yda*—they treated him better than they had done before when he was with them on his outward journey to Moqui.

[6] *Cíbola* is the word used, which in Spanish annals of the Southwest commonly means buffalo; but there were never any buffaloes in Arizona. The construction is: "*habian muerto una cíbola y una res de las que andan cimarronas*," where the conjunction *y* does not mean that more than one cow was killed.

[7] See the date, p. 297.

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[8] Not identified.—F. W. H.

[9] These tribes also remain unidentified.—F. W. H.

[10] These were Apaches, a note on whom will be found beyond.

[11] Ute or Uta, whence the name of the State of Utah. A Shoshonean tribe or group of tribes formerly occupying the central and western portions of Colorado and the northeastern part of Utah, including the eastern part of Salt Lake valley and Utah valley; on the south they extended into New Mexico, occupying much of the area drained by the upper Rio San Juan. The Utes manifested a warlike spirit from early times, and their aggressive character became intensified with the acquirement of horses, probably from the Pueblos on the upper Rio Grande and the Hopi or Moki of N. E. Arizona. Of their political organization little is known, but it is possible that the various Uta divisions were once united into a loose confederacy; indeed, the seven Uta tribes of Utah were found to be organized into a confederacy in 1873 under chief Tabby (Távivi). In the northern part of their range they became considerably intermixed with the northern Shoshoneans—the Bannock, Shoshoni, and Paiute—and on the south, in later times, with the Jicarilla

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Apache. They are now confined to reservations in southwestern Colorado, northwestern New Mexico, and northeastern Utah, where they number in all 2,890. They appear to be decreasing in numbers. The principal divisions now officially recognized are the Capote, Muache, Wiminuchi, Tabequache, Uinta, and White River Utes. Other published names for the group are: Eutah, Eutaw, Gutah, Iuta, Iutjoat, Utaw, Yiuhta, Youta, Youts, Yutas, Yute, Yutta, etc.—F. W. H.

[12] The Paiute Indians of the Shoshonean linguistic stock. The name is of rather indefinite application, having been given by various writers to most of the Shoshonean tribes of eastern Utah, northern Arizona, southern Idaho, eastern Oregon and Nevada, and eastern and southern California. According to Powell, the leading authority on the Shoshonean tribes, the name signifies "true (= *pai*) Ute," although it is popularly accepted to mean "water Ute." In its strict application the name belongs exclusively to the Corn Creek tribe of southwestern Utah, but for convenience ethnologists now employ the name to designate the Shoshonean tribes of southwestern Utah from about the locality of Beaver, the southwestern part of Nevada, and the northwestern part of Arizona, including the Chemehuevi of the Colorado river. Under it are included also the tribes of southeastern California from about the neighborhood of Owens valley, along the eastern slopes of the sierras and to the southward of Tulare lake and east of the Coast range. The Paiute population is not definitely known. Those gathered on reservations in Nevada number 1,350, but in that State alone there are 6,815 natives not under an agent. The entire population is probably not far from 2,500, distributed as follows: Utah, 500; northern Arizona, 500; southern Nevada, 1,000; southeastern California, 500. Other Paiute names found in literature are Diggers (applied also to other root-digging Indians), Pah-

quioba.[13] I suppose that all these nations will be no more than rancherias, and that all will form one stock (*cuerpo*), in language and customs like the Yabipais themselves. They sought to detain me by force six days, saying to me that I was a-hungered, for that I had eaten not in Moqui, and that they had much meat and were well content with me. Notwithstanding all this I did not accept their favor.

July 6. I went to the southwest four leagues, and re-encountered[14] the Rio San Pedro Jaquesila.

July 7. I traveled two leagues to the northwest and west, and halted near the cave where I was on my coming [June 27]. Here there were Indians who had much beef and venison (*carne de cíbola y bura*).

July 8. I ascended the sierra and passed the lowlands (*bajío*), whence the Indians showed me a road more direct, easier, and shorter, to return to the Jam-

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metes, Pahnutes Utahs, Pah-Touts, Pah-Utah, Pah-Utes, Paiuches, Paiulee, Pasuchis, Pa-uches, Pa-utes, Pau-Utahs, Paynutes, Payoche, Payucha, Paiute Snakes, Payutas, Payutes, Pey-Ute, Piedes, Pie Edes, Pi-eeds, Pieutes, Piutahs, Pi-Utes, Pi-u-chas, Pi-Utah, Pyeeds, Pyentes, Py-ute, Snake Diggers, Ute Diggers.—F. W. H.

[13] The Japul, Gualta, and Baquioba, remain unidentified.—F. W. H.

[14] *Volbí á encontrar;* not that he went back or returned to the river, but that he went on to strike it again at another point. This time he is on the Colorado Chiquito proper, at the same place where he crossed it before, June 28. See p. 354.

ajabs. I did not determine to take it without first assuring them that I wished to return to their home, according to the promise that I had made them, in consideration of how well they had behaved on my coming. This day I traveled four leagues southwest and west, and we halted at a well of very abundant water that I named Pozo de Santa Isabel.[18]

July 9. We traveled five leagues northwest and fell upon the Caxones del Jabesua, and in three leagues more to the westnorthwest with some windings about I alighted in their rancheria after nightfall. The descent is very perilous, but thereafter is smooth to the xacales (huts), with very high sierras (cliffs) on each side. All were filled with unspeakable joy when they saw me, and such was their importunity that I should sojourn here six days, that it was impossible to depart until the 15th day. I was well served by all of them, and elaborately (*con esmero*) did these Indians regale me. They were much delighted to hear me recite the litany, whereof they apprehended some terms; and to affect them still more, when I named San Antonio I added "de Jabesua," and when I named San Pedro I added "de Yabipai"; all of which caused them much merriment, and for that did they repeat (the names), asking me, "And I—what do you call me too?"[16] Whereat I went about, calling every one of them by the name of some saint, of which names each one learned his own, and they set themselves to recite all that they had been taught. This served me to divert the melancholy that it caused me to see myself buried alive in that calaboose (*calaboso*) of cliffs and cañons, after having encountered such rebels at the Moquis; at the same time by this means increasing the gusto of the Indians, likewise their affection for the things of God.

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[18] I should suppose this to be Red Horse spring (already mentioned, note [20], p. 349); but there is no possibility of reaching the Havasupai in anything like the 8 leagues which are given as to-morrow's journey.

July 15 [misdated "dia 16"]. I set forth on the west, albeit against the will of the Indians, who counseled me that I should return by the way of the ladder;[17] but I having looked to see if perchance there were some other more commodious exit, insisted that they should take me by the way the beasts had descended, which is in the direction of the west, where with some windings it mounts to a level place (*plano*) that shall have of length about a quarter of a league, encompassed on the west and south by a very rough and rocky cliff (*sierra*). I turned to go out by the Nuebo Canfran, having traveled about five leagues, for the most part south.

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[16] "Y por eso repetian preguntandome y yo como?"

[17] Garcés would not essay the ladder again—see note [11], p. 336—but insisted on taking the trail by which the mules were brought down on the former occasion, June 20. In this way he surmounted a flat bench which he estimated to be (as the future tense, "shall have," shows) a quarter of a league long; and finally escaped from Cataract cañon through the same side-cañon by which he first entered it—the "New Canfran." He goes altogether to-day about 12 miles, mostly south, but to some point he does not specify.

July 16 [so copy, correctly]. I traveled six leagues west, and arrived at the Pozo de las Rosas.[18]

July 17. I set forth by the southwest, and making a turn to the west, passed over the Sierra de los Pinales that I had named (Sierra) de San Diego,[19] and in the evening arrived at the Arroyo de San Alexo.[20]

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[18] Pine spring, his former camp: note [18], p. 335, June 19.

[19] If Garcés named this sierra before he omitted to so state in his journal, where no such name appears for June 18 or 19. But his Sierra de los Pinales or de San Diego is obviously the pine-clad heights of Aubrey's cliffs: note [12], p. 330.

[20] Arroyo de San Alexo is Diamond creek, or one of the heads of that system of cañons, but I cannot locate this Cuercomache rancheria to my satisfaction. The Cuercomaches appear to be a division of Yavapais unknown except for this single mention by our author. Furthermore, we shall have great difficulty in following Garcés for the next few days. His language is altogether too short hereabouts to fetch him on to any position whence he can make the northing and westing presently indicated. I think he must be set to-day over into Mojave county, somewhere north of Peach springs—perhaps at the spring in the collateral cañon of Diamond creek down which we have already gone to the Colorado (p. 327). His

To-day I departed from the road of the going (*de la yda, i. e.,* former route). I went six leagues onward (*mas*) in the direction said in order to arrive at this arroyo, where I made night, and therein I found a rancheria of Yabipais Cuercomaches, who received me well, on account of the information that they had received from the other Indians, and also because I had in my company two principal Indians of the Jabesua, who were going to trade at the Jamajab, attesting (*protextando*) therein the peace and harmony recently established. On this day I met four Yabipais who by order of their captain were going to seek me, apprehensive lest some ill had befallen me, in view of my tardiness—an act which proves the great affection he (the captain) had for me.

July 18. I traveled down the arroyo a league and a half northwest, and then, having gone over some hills, came out upon a little valley that I called (Valle) del Lino[21] for the much wild (flax) that there was, and it

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trail back to Mojave is henceforth entirely north of the route by which he went before, as every place he reaches has a different name, excepting the two main ranges, the Cerbat and Black mountains—his Sierra Morena and Sierra de Santiago. Nevertheless the genral trend is the same; the difference is only in details which we cannot satisfactorily make out.

[21] "*Que llamé del Lino por el mucho (lino) cimarron que habia,*" etc. This is a well-known plant in Arizona, *Linum perenne* or a closely related species. As we have already seen, it gave the

gave me great joy, not having seen any since I departed from Aragon. Having traveled three leagues and a half west, I arrived at a rancheria in which they gave me to eat of piñones, with which that land abounds, and made me tarry one day [July 19] in order that others might come to see me.

July 20. I went half a league north to the Aguage de la Rancheria de Santa Margarita; thereafter I traveled two leagues west within sight of (*á la vista de*) another rancheria, and having passed over the sierra that on my coming I named (Sierra) Morena,[22] I found a well that I called (Pozo) de las Abispas for the many (wasps) that it had. I passed through a valley about four leagues wide, and having gone four

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first name to the Colorado Chiquito, originally Rio del Lino or Flax river, in Coronado's time, 1540. But where is this Flax valley? It is a physical impossibility that Garcés should have reached the Hualapais valley from any position to which his previous mileage has advanced him; and this valley is hardly to be called "little" (*pequeño*).

[22] Here we are confronted with the Cerbat range. This much is certain; but the details given for to-day remain for me unexplained. I cannot point to St. Margaret or Wasp well, nor do I see how Garcés crosses the Cerbat range to-day as he says—for we are told to-morrow that he goes two leagues to its summit; what is said of the rancheria sighted is not clear, nor is it quite certain whether he goes 7½ or 11 leagues. I believe that the valley four leagues wide is Hualapais valley, and that our traveler is somewhere on the eastern slope of the Cerbat range, in the vicinity of Isabel spring.

leagues more (*mas*) to the west and one league southwest, I arrived at the rancheria seen (*vista*), whose captain I had met before; and he went in my company. Here I tarried two days [July 21, 22].

July 23. I traveled along the skirt of the sierra two leagues, and arrived at a rancheria that had its pozo.[23]

July 24. I ascended the Sierra Morena by the east, having traveled to its summit two leagues; thereafter I went one (league) north, and found a rancheria wherein they regaled us; here there are two pozos, and a valley extends on the two sides of the river. This (river) from the Jamajabs upward comes through formidable caxones. In the evening I traveled a league and a half south, and two leagues and a half southwest, and arrived at a rancho that had an aguage; which is yet another (*que aun es todavia*) of the Cuercomaches.[24]

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[23] Unidentifiable, as we are not told whether he skirts the Cerbat range north or south; nor are we certain, indeed, whether he is on the east or west side of these mountains. (The Beaumont MS. has *sudueste;* pub. Doc. prints *surueste.*)

[24] This day's itinerary is equally confused; I cannot understand his allusions to the Colorado river and its valleys, as well as to its course above Mojave. What he says is perfectly true, but seems out of place; for he is not yet on the Black range, where remarks upon the river valley would be in order. He is in his Sierra Morena, the Cerbat range, which he traverses either through Mineral park or through Cerbat—most probably the former, as he continues south and west across the head of the

July 25. Having traveled two leagues southwest, I came upon the Sierra de Santiago, the which I passed over by the west and northwest, and found a watering-place that I named (Aguage) de Santa Anna; and having gone one league and a half I reached the Rio Colorado; following down the course of which to a distance of yet other two leagues southward I arrived at the Punta de los Jamajabs.[25]

Soon as these people saw me they ran to embrace me, leaped for joy, and knew not how to express their delight. They told me that already had their relations mourned for me, it having been reported to them that I had been killed at Moqui; and that they themselves had so notified the Cuercomaches, that

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Sacramento valley, and at the rancho where he stays to-night is still a couple of leagues northeast of the entrance to Union pass in the Black mountains. The Cuercomache watering-place of which he speaks is not identifiable; there are numerous springs in this vicinity, some of which are now known as Mud, Willow, Cottonwood, and Cane.

[25] This appears to be about the position of Fort Mojave, a few miles above the locality which Garcés formerly named San Pedro de los Jamajabs, as we see by what he says beyond, July 26. He seems to have struck the Colorado at Hardyville; whence it is most probable that he crossed the Black mountains—his Sierra de Santiago—by Union pass; though there is another way—a mere trail, not a road—over the mountains which also fetches out at Hardyville. If he made Union pass, his Aguage de Santa Anna is the well-known watering place in that pass. I never heard any other name for it, if it has one.

these might search for me, and, if I returned, accompany me. They informed me that Sevastian, he who is the Indian whom I left among the Jamajabs (when I departed) for Moqui, had a bad heart, for he had given away the shells and other things that I left him; that one of the mules had been drowned, and the other they had killed. In fine, they talked a great deal, and ceased not to converse with me. There came with me to this rancheria the captain of the Cuercomaches, (and also?) a young fellow who knew the language of the Jamajabs and had served me as interpreter to the Yabipais, and two Yabipais Jabesua who brought mantas, leggings, and pieces of cowhide (*pedazos de cuero de baca*) to trade with the Jamajabs for shells—only for white sea-shells, for no others do they receive in exchange. In this rancheria remained all those who had accompanied me hitherto, I taking leave of them with the utmost (*grandisimo*) affection, especially the Jabesuas, to whom I was indebted for so many favors.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM MOJAVE DOWN RIO COLORADO TO YUMA, UP RIO GILA, AND OVER TO BAC, JULY 25-SEPTEMBER 17, 1776.

I would have recompensed them well, for this they merited, had I not been robbed of everything I had left in the trunk (*petáca*); but seeing myself so poor I charged it upon (*encargué*) the Jamajabs of this rancheria that they should do this for me, and that they should be true friends as long as they lived (*toda la vida*), persevering in the peace established. I worked so hard to establish the treaties of peace of which so many times do I make mention in this diary, not only for the purpose of putting an end to death and destruction in these nations, by whom I now find myself so greatly favored, but also in order that the foundation of missions may be facilitated, and opened may be the way for the transit which is sought from New Mexico to Monte-Rey; being evident these and other utilities which ensue from the peace of these and other nations among themselves and with us, as also the damage which may result from the contrary.

July 26. I went two and a half leagues south down river, and arrived at the rancheria of the Jamajabs that I had named San Pedro.[1]

July 27. I went one league south to another rancheria. All this (way) is populated.

July 28. I went three leagues southeast to arrive at the Rancherias de la Pasion,[2] where I was detained two days [July 29, 30], because they all wished to see me.

Here the Jamajabs told me that the Yabipais Tejua were already friends of the Cocomaricopas, so that I could proceed through their land in four or five days, without making the former circuit to the Yumas. But as I knew that these had killed three Jalchedunes, and that both nations were much disgusted, I held it to be more advisable to take the trouble of the circuit, and proceed to visit them both, in order to reconcile them; investigating first the feeling of the Jalchedunes in this matter, and their disposition for the catechism and vassalage of his Majesty, such being my principal commission to the nations of the Rio Colorado; and having to leave one of the nations without making them any presents, owing to the little that I possessed, it was inconvenient to pass on to the next one with empty hands. Besides this, the Cocomaricopas being friends of the Apaches (*i. e.*, of the Yabipais Tejua), there was some question about my entering their lands first; for, my entrada being for the purpose of making peace between these and the Gileños, I was in doubt of their good feeling, even though they (the Jamajabs) told me that this was already established. I then raised and still raise the question of its formality, until there be realized a large presidio on the Rio de la Asumpcion, as I will say in the sequel.[3]

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[1] And made to be in lat 35° 01', Mar. 3. The position is a little below Fort Mojave: see note [5], p. 234. Observe that Garcés now goes down the Colorado on the Arizona side.

[2] So named Feb. 28: see p. 226 for the position of these rancherias, which were on the Arizona side of the river.

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[3] The whole of this paragraph is so singularly involved, owing to equivocal pronouns, present participles, and defective punctuation, that it cannot be translated literally. Whether or not I have given the exact sense of it may be judged on examination of the Spanish, which stands as follows. "Aquí me dixeron los Jamajabs que los Yabipais Tejua eran ya amigos de los Cocomaricopas por lo que podia salir por su tierra á los Yumas en quatro ó cinco dias sin llebar el rodeo antezedente pero como yo sabia que estos havian muerto 3 Jalchedunes, y ambas naciones estaban muy disgustadas, tube por mas conveniente sufrir la molestia del rodeo y pasar á visitarlos todos para componerlos indagando primero para esta y para la disposicion del catequismo y vasallage de S. M. el animo de los Jalchedunes, siendo mi principal comision para las naciones del Rio Colorado, y haviendo de dexar á una de las naciones sin regalo por lo poco que tenia era inconveniente pasar á la otra immediata con las manos vacias. A mas de esto siendo los Cocomaricopas amigos de los Apáches, habia algun rezelo para entrar yo primero á

In this place I baptized three infirm old men and one little damsel (*doncellita*) who was dying; and the Jamajabs confirmed the same unanimously (*se confirmaron en lo dicho con iguales expresiones.*)

July 31. I traveled two leagues southsouthwest, and came to other rancherias. This day arrived a Yabipai Tejua Indian, in the name of his nation, to learn whether I had come and to convey me in order that I should go to his land—he who told me that already was it days that they had awaited me, to

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sus tierras pues siendo mi entrada para hazer las pazes entre estos y los Gileños, dudaba del buen afecto y aunque me dezian que esto ya estaba hecho, dificultaba y dificulto su formalidad hasta que se verifique vn presidio grande en el Rio de la Asumpcion como despues diré." In other words: Garcés was told he could go to the Cocomaricopas through the Yabipais Tejua without taking his former roundabout way. But the Yumas had killed three Jalchedunes, and both these nations were disaffected; so he thought best to keep on down river, and visit all its nations, to find out how they stood on the question of catechism, etc., as he had been ordered to do; besides, he was just leaving the Jamajabs without making any presents, and did not like to encounter the Yabipais Tejua empty-handed. Moreover, he mistrusted the temper of the latter, who he supposed would continue to make trouble, as they had done in the past, until a fort was established on the Rio de la Asumpcion.

On comparing the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc. with our copy I find that the scribe misplaced the clause *á los Yumas* in the third line of the Spanish above given; it belongs in the fourth line, where we should read *el rodeo antesedente á los Yumas.* I make it so in my English of the main text.

which end had they killed much wild meat. Soon as he delivered this message to the Jamajabs he returned without my seeing him, as I desired to do, in order to reward him and to send by him many regrets, with the reasons why I was not going there on this occasion.

Aug. 1. Having traveled two leagues south I reached the Sierra de San Ildefonso,[4] which the river traverses; hereunto extend the lands of my beloved particular benefactors the Jamajabs, whose nation appears to me the best adapted, as well by its temper as by the situation where it abides, for the founding of missions.

Aug. 2, 3, 4, 5. I traveled down river fourteen leagues southward, with some deflections to the southeast and southwest, over ground rough enough, without trees and without grass. On the 5th day I found a river to which I gave the name of (Rio) de Santa Maria.[5] This river has a very wide bed, but on this occasion carried not much water; there are on its

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[4] Sierra de San Ildefonso is of course the Mojave range, "which the river traverses" in the Mojave cañon, beginning above at the Needles: see note [24], p. 227, at date of Feb. 28, when Garcés first crossed this range, "which ends on the Rio Colorado," but did not then give it any name.

[5] Rio de Santa Maria is Bill Williams' river or fork of the Colorado, the largest branch in Arizona between the Gila and the Colorado Chiquito. Garcés is not to be credited with actual discovery of this stream, for it had been located and named long before. Perhaps it was passed by Alarcon in

1540; but if so, there is no particular indication of the fact. Definite knowledge of this stream goes back as far as to the early overland expedition of Juan de Oñate, 1604-05, who first named it Rio de San Andrés, after St. Andrew of discipular and apostolic fame, whose day is Nov. 30—very likely actual date of the discovery, as Oñate started Oct. 7, and was at tidewater of the Colorado on Jan. 23, 1605. The Amacavas or Amajavas (Jamajabs = Mojaves) were then living both above and below its mouth; and one of Oñate's men, Capt. Marquez, made a short excursus up the Colorado from this point. But the discovery went to sleep and the name lapsed; I do not know where to point to anything concerning this river till the time of Jacob Sedelmair, *ca.* 1744-48, when we hear of a Rio Azul which certainly was no other than this one, to which the name Azul was sadly misapplied. Sedelmair does not seem to have reached the river, but heard of it; and an instance of its being called Rio Azul is found in the Rudo Ensayo, written in 1762, p. 130: "Between this junction [of the Gila with the Colorado] and that of the river Azul with the Colorado, the former of which [Rio Azul] unites with the latter [Rio Colorado] forty leagues farther up to the north, and comes almost directly from the east, there dwells on the left bank of the Colorado the numerous Hudcoadan nation, possessed of fertile soil and fine springs. The river Azul is not large, and according to what the natives say, comes from the Province of Mogui [Moqui], at a distance of three or four days' march." Next we have Garcés on the spot, at or near the mouth of the river, present site of the paper-town of Aubrey, or Aubrey "city," where there was nothing to justify a name when I passed it in Sept., 1865. The name which Garcés now bestows appears upon Font's map, came into general use, and is still retained for one of the two main forks of the river. The precise date of application of Bill Williams' name has escaped me, but it scarcely antedates the period of the banks grass and all the woods proper to a river; as far

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Pacific Railroad surveys, and I am under the impression it originated with Joseph R. Walker, about 1840. Sitgreaves' Report, pub. 1854, p. 13, at date of Oct. 23, 1851, when he was at one of the headwaters, speaks of "a small stream, called by trappers Bill Williams's fork." That same season he identified at its mouth the river which he correctly supposed to be the same one. The name thus acquired literary currency, and in this full form, or shortened to Williams, appears on all the maps of Sitgreaves, Whipple, Ives, Beale, etc. The original use of the term is no doubt synchronous or nearly so with the application of that worthy's name to the magnificent mountains which still uphold it. "Old Bill Williams" was the noted character of unsavory repute with whom Frémont had his disastrous experiences in the San Juan mountains in 1848; it is probable that cannibalism saved some lives on that expedition, and this led to the saying I have heard in the West, that Bill Williams was not a man one would want to walk in front of if there was no meat in camp! The river was first fully explored in January and February, 1854, when Lieut. A. W. Whipple followed it down from some of its sources to its mouth. Having gone through Aztec pass, Whipple fell upon one of the headwaters of the river, Jan. 26. This is the present Trout creek, arising in the vicinity of Cross mountain, of the subsequent Fort Rock, etc. Next day he was on another, which he named White Cliff creek. Both of these flow into what he called Big Sandy wash and supposed to be what had been so named by Walker. This wash, joined by various other tributaries, becomes Bill Williams' river, after the junction of its main fork. Following it down, Whipple came to this fork on Feb. 7, and says in his report (P. R. R. Reps. vol. iii, p. 103): "We call it Rio Santa Maria, a name which early Spanish map makers applied to the whole river." This restriction is now the accepted nomenclature—that is, as the view disclosed its course came from the east, always along the skirt of a large sierra.[6]

Big Sandy wash and Santa Maria river compose Bill Williams' river. The mountains northwest of Prescott, giving rise to sources of the Santa Maria, take the same name which Garcés gave to the whole river. I have dwelt upon this case, because it is perhaps the only instance of the survival to the present day of a name which originated with our author. The Yuman name is given by Whipple as Hah-weal-ha-mook; the Piute name, as Hah-cu-cha-pah.

[6] This sierra is the eastward continuation of the Monument range which crosses the Colorado here, and extends up Bill Williams' river and valley. Lest Garcés' statement of the little water in so extensive a river be thought strange, I will cite Ives' Report, p. 58, at date of Feb. 1, 1858: "We had reached the Chemuhuevis valley and the mouth of Bill Williams's Fork, which is the only important tributary to the Colorado between the Virgen and the Gila. Having accompanied, in 1853 [and '54] the expedition of Lieutenant Whipple to explore for a railroad route along the 35th parallel, and having, with that party, descended Bill Williams's Fork to its confluence with the Colorado, I was confident of the locality. The mouth of the stream was at that time, which happened to be in the present month, February [of 1854], about 30 feet wide, and several feet deep. I now looked in vain for the creek. The outline of the bank, though low, appeared unbroken, and for a while I was quite confounded. My companions were of opinion that I had made a great topographical blunder, but I asked Captain Robinson to head for the left shore, proposing to camp and make an examination. As we approached the bank I perceived, while closely scanning its outline, a small dent, and after landing repaired to the spot, and found a very narrow gulley, through which a feeble stream was trickling, and this was all

Aug. 6, 7, 8. I traveled fourteen leagues on courses south and southwest, wherewithal I arrived at the first rancherias of the Jalchedun nation, called (Rancherias) de San Antonio on my last entrada.[7] Behaved themselves admirably the Jalchedunes. So I appointed (*dejé puesto*) a captain of the nation as *justica,* on behalf of his majesty, as I had done among the Jamajabs; inasmuch as the Jalchedunes are so well disposed, and ready to receive padres and Españoles. The old men said to me that not less than the Yumas did they themselves desire the Españoles, whom they loved even as did the Yumas; and they added: " Well might ye have come this way, for we have a road as well to go to the Gecuiches (they are the Danzarines) as also to pass to the Genigueches (they are those of the Valles de San Joseph and de Santa Anna)." It must be observed that these Jalchedun Indians are the best dressed, not only in such goods as they themselves possess, but also in such as they trade with the Jamajabs,[8] Genigueches,

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that was left of Bill Williams's Fork. The former mouth is now filled up, and overgrown with thickets of willow."

[7] His Fourth Entrada, of 1774: see the passage where the name occurs in my account of this entrada, p. 45.

[8] Debe advertirse que estos Indios Jalchedunes son los mas bien vestidos para lo qual no tienen solo para si sino tambien para comerciar con los Jamajabs," etc. The Beaumont MS. and pub. Doc. differ with each other here, and both are widely

Cocomaricopas, Yabipais, and Moquis, obtaining from these last mantas, girdles, and a coarse kind of cloth (*sayal*), in exchange for cotton, of which they raise much. Here came to see me very joyfully the two damsels whom, as is said above,[*] I rescued and sent off with the old interpreter; the eldest one brought wood and cooked the little things with which they regaled me, all of which caused me great gusto. I sojourned here the 9th and 10th days.

Aug. 11. I traveled two leagues west and southwest, and found myself in the Rancherias de Santa Coleta, much abounding in crops; the heat was excessive. These rancherias were near the river.

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variant from our copy; but the sense is the same in all three cases.

I have translated my copy literally and correctly, and it seems a better text than the variants I find in the Beaumont MS. and pub. Doc. The former has, foja 45 vuelta: "Ya se supone que estos Indios van los mas vestidos, pues no solamte tienen para si para comerciar con los Jamajabs, Yumas, y Jenigueches, porque siembran algodon, y comercian con los Cocomaricopas, Yavipais, y Moquis, de donde sacan ms. (muchas) mantas, ceñidores, y sayal." The latter has, p. 341: "Supongo que estos indios van vestidos, pues como sienbran algodun y sacan del Moqui mantas, ceñidores y sayal, tienen ropa para sí y para comerciar con los jamajabs, yumas y los jenigueches"—*i. e.*, "I suppose these Indians go clothed, for as they sow cotton and get from Moqui mantas, girdles, and sayal, they have clothing (enough) for themselves and for trading with the Jamajabs, Yumas, and Jenigueches."

[*] See p. 219, date of Feb. 26, for the incident.

Aug. 12. I traveled two and a half leagues, and slept near the Laguna de la Trinidad, of which I make mention on the other journey.[10] Here I was one day [Aug. 13] detained to talk with the old men, my antique acquaintances. This day came a Cocomaricopa and said that the Yabipais Tejua had killed five Cocomaricopas. Much did I regret this information, and for the occasion thereof I blamed the fact that the Cocomaricopas had given to the Yabipais concubines, as I already knew (they had done), and this alone could be the cause of the murders, in case they were confirmed. For this reason I notified the Jalchedunes that, if any Yabipai under pretext of peace came to their land, they should by no means permit him to reconnoiter the rancherias; but only that, giving him to eat and doing him no harm, they should dispatch him forthwith, attempting to make with them [*i. e.*, with the Yabipais] neither war nor peace; still less should they permit those of their nation to give concubines to the Yabipais as had done the Cocomaricopas. To the Jamajabs who were present I said that they should advise the Yabipais Tejua that there were to come soon padres and Españoles to the Cocomaricopas, and that therefore they should refrain from injuring the latter, lest they should make themselves enemies of ours. I wondered at the whopping lie with which this Cocomaricopa stuffed us in the report of the murders, when I learned afterward to the contrary.[11]

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[10] To wit, on his entrada of 1774. The distances Garcés gives for his descent of the river from Bill Williams' fork are now altogether 14 + 2 + 2½ = 18½ leagues = 49 miles. Most of this way is through the present Colorado River Indian Reservation (Executive Orders of Nov. 22, 1873; Nov. 16, 1874; May 15, 1876), which extends on the Arizona side from the vicinity of a place called Parker to a little below La Paz, in Yuma county. I suppose him to be now some ten miles above La Paz; and very likely his Laguna de la Trinidad was at or near the place known as Half-way bend, where the river is now divided into separate channels. Some formation of this sort is a plausible explanation of a "laguna," and a place where the river thus spreads out would be a natural crossing. As he crosses here, we can set him down at this point with considerable confidence that we have it about right. See also Font's map, on which this first crossing is marked agreeably with the determination I here offer.

Aug. 14. I crossed the Rio Colorado on a raft and traveled half a league southwest, whereupon I arrived at some rancherias I called (Rancherias) de la Asumpcion.[12] This night they robbed me of five articles; next day I sent word to the old men on the other side, asking them if they allowed that, and what would have to say about it all the other nations through whom I had passed without any such thing happening to me. Bestirred themselves thereat the old men, and they did operate with such lively diligence upon the thieves, that restitution was effected of all that which had been stolen, though the cloak did come back in rags (*volbió hecho pedazos*), through no fault of theirs. I tarried here the 15th day.

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[11] Admiréme de la mentira garrafal que nos embocó el Cocomaricopa con la noticia de las muertes pues supe despues habia sido al contrario.

[12] On the Californian side of the river, nearly opposite Laguna de la Trinidad, apparently at or near the place called Granite point on Ives' map. This is still a few miles above La Paz.

Aug. 16. I went one league and a half south, with some declination southeast.

Aug. 17. I traveled one league in the same directions, and halted in a rancheria where there was a very great chieftain (*un capitano mui principal*), who bore himself well with us, regaling us with *elótes*, whereof were there many. To this rancheria and to all those contiguous I gave the name Lagrimas de San Pedro.[13]

Aug. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. I traveled five leagues and one half southsouthwest, and passed by two rancherias and some ranchos, detaining myself in the first one a day, and on the last of these [*i. e.*, the 22d] they passed me on a raft over the river, on whose opposite bank I found a rancheria.[14]

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[13] The tears of St. Peter were shed along the Californian side of the river, nearly opposite La Paz and thence downward opposite Ehrenberg and Mineral City.

[14] Crossing back again to the Arizona side of the river, apparently below Mineral City.

Aug. 23. I went one league and a half south, and slept in the last rancherias of the Jalchedun nation.[15] I met here certain Yumas, in spite of (*sin perjuicio de*) the three murders of Jalchedunes that these (Yumas) had committed a little time before, on account of some stolen horses, in the matter of which grievance were they already reconciled (*compuestos*). In all the rancherias of Jalchedunes they assured me that, had they wished to fight, already would they have gone down to avenge on the Yumas the death of their relations, but that certainly they did not now wish for war; and that though the immediate relatives of the dead were soliciting some revenge, public opinion (*el comun*) of the nation never consented thereto, protesting the established peace; though from their lack of judgment there could be no assurance that peace would be maintained.

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[15] This statement enables us to fix the limits of the tribe with considerable precision. These Indians inhabited the Great Colorado valley or arable lowland between the Chemehuevis valley above and the country of the Yumas below. The valley begins above at the point where the Monument mountains cease to hem in the river, a few miles below the confluence of Bill Williams' river, and extends some 30 miles in air line S. S. W., to the point where outliers from the Chocolate mountains began to close in upon the river. This is a little below the small tributary from the west known as Carroll's creek, in the vicinity of the Long bend and Dismal flats. This whole stretch is still almost as much of a waste as it was in Garcés' time, the most notable places on the river being La Paz, Ehrenberg, and Mineral City, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the way down the valley. The most conspicuous features of the country are Riverside mountain and the Halfway mountains, approaching the river on the Californian side in the upper half of the extent of the great valley; while lower down and further away from the river, on the Arizona side, is the Dome Rock range.

Aug. 24. I went four leagues southsoutheast, albeit here runs the river southwest.[16] Here I was the 25th day, having found some Yuma and Jalchedun families a-hunting.

Aug. 26. I crossed the river [17] and traveled one half league south, and about one west, whereupon I halted at a large tank (*tanque*—water-hole) that there is in the sierra. In the evening I traveled two leagues west and south, and at night five on this course with various windings through broken ground.[18]

The following day [Aug. 27] I went four (leagues) south unto the Puerto de la Concepcion del Rio Colorado, as I will now relate.

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[16] More nearly south, in the region where the river begins to run through the Chocolate mountains; then in passing these mountains it begins to veer to a mean S. E. course, and thenceforward runs due east, till it turns south with a broad sweep past Castle dome and thus bends toward Yuma.

[17] His third crossing, this time from the Arizona to the California side.

[18] Traveling in the vicinity of the Spires, Chimney peak, etc., thus getting on his former trail; on which he reaches Yuma next day. On his arrival there was no one to welcome the wanderer back from his long journey except the Indians; for on Anza's and Font's return to Yuma, May 11, with the expedi-

Aug. 27. I arrived at the Puerto de la Concepcion, where I was received by the Yuma nation with particular pleasure, for they had already mourned me as one dead, from another report like that at the Jamajabs. They solicited me that I should not depart from their land, in view of the fact that in the following moon, said they, the Españoles were due to arrive (*debian ya venir*). They also expressed to me their grief and emotion, for that the Cocomaricopas, with wiles and under cloak of peace, had murdered treacherously seven Yabipais Tejua, friends of theirs. Here I found out (*acabé de conozer*) the big lie that the Cocomaricopa told me among the Jalchedunes, cited on the 12th day. I gave them to understand how deeply I felt the treachery of the Cocomaricopas, and charged it upon Captain Pablo, who was governing in absence of Palma, that when he should see the Yabipais he should express to them on my behalf my sentiments concerning this deed of the Cocomaricopas, and (tell them) that I was not going to visit them because I had not the wherewithal to regale

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tion from San Francisco, they took Padre Eisarc and Captain Palma with them when they went on, May 16: see note [28], p. 311.

The pub. Doc. at this point sums "Total 666 leguas." Beaumont MS. has nothing.

them, but that I would do so at the coming of the Españoles to the Pimas Gileños and to the Rio Colorado; for I was ever the friend of the Yabipais, and the same would be also all the Españoles. I added, moreover, to the captain, that he should keep the peace with the Cocomaricopas and all the rest of the neighboring nations. On this occasion I recognized the great providence of God in (ordering) that I should go not from the Jamajabs to the Yabipais Tejua, as all had persuaded me (that I should do), inasmuch as through this treachery of the Cocomaricopas would I have run the risk of my life.

The river which the Yumas call Javill[19] and we Colorado—not, as some think, because its waters be always reddened, but it is because, the whole region (*territorio*) being colored, they became tinged in the month of April, that in which the snows melt, and there are the greatest freshets—is very peculiar, inasmuch as in all the year it rises and falls more or less, but in each case for a long space (of time); it commences to rise from the last days of February until the end of June, and continues to subside (*va bajando*) until the last of December. Its source it draws from the septentrional parts, and even in its beginnings did they assure me it was full of water (*caudaloso*). This much is certain, that from the Yutas, who are on the north of the Moqui, unto its disemboguement in the Golfo de Californias, it gathers to itself no notable volume of water (*caudal*); wherefore is it very likely that the greater part of its abundance comes from far beyond.[20] I have not been able to obtain more particular information about that, though I have solicited it; only that among the Yutas there unite with it two small streams (*riachuelos*),[21] of which the one comes from the north and the other from the northeast; and among the Yabipais the Rio de San Pedro Jaquesila[22] which, though in times of snow-waters it is of some volume, when I passed it was dry (*cortado*). Among the Jabesúas falls in the Rio de San Antonio,[23] which rather can be called an arroyo than a river. Among the Jalchedunes and Jamajabs falls in the Rio de Santa Maria,[24] which also is usually dry. Among the Yumas falls in the Gila, which though it is so voluminous, yet is not so all the year. I inquired likewise if, on the part of the north and northwest, there entered into the Colorado any other; and all answered me nay, reducing their information solely to those (rivers) mentioned. In the parts where I have observed this river, only in one can it be forded on horseback, and that is at the Yumas, when it goes down; but for fording (is it even then) very risky and shifty, as we experienced the past year [1775], finding no transit where we had crossed it the preceding year [1774]. It has copious woods on its banks, with the exception of the situations where it flows walled up (*encaxonado*, "cañonated") between cliffs; it grows on them willows, cottonwoods, mezquites, and screws.[25] It is scant of pasturage, though in some stretches is found a low grass; it abounds in *carrizo*, *tules*, *bledos*, and other tall grasses (*zacatónes*), whose seeds the Indians eat. The quality of the soil on its banks is good, except here and there an alkaline piece of ground, so that the Indians sow and harvest every kind of grain; and the banks of this river being cultivated, and widened in some places, not only can it support its own inhabitants and those adjacent (*havitadores y circunvezinos*), but also a much larger population. This river is as it were a barrier to the Serranos and Yabipais, who do not venture to ford it, and on particularly necessary occasions the natives cross it on some logs (*unos palos*). Hence may be inferred the little trouble the Apaches will cause us, fixing our establishments on the other side of the river. The nations who inhabit from the disemboguement thereof, on one and the other side, and in their successive order, are: Cucapa; Jalliquamai; Cajuenche; Yuma; Jalchedun; Jamajab; Chemeguaba; Yabipai; Payuchas; and Yutas. I note that crops only extend up to the Jamajabs, for that thence upward the river runs so boxed-up (*encaxonado*) that neither does the ground yield anything nor can cultivation be effected; aye,

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[19] *Javill* is the same word or name that is rendered *Hah Weal*, with addition of the word *Asientic*, on a sketch map drawn by a Yuma Indian for Lieutenant Whipple and published in the P. R. R. Reps., vol. iii, 1856, p. 16, pl. 2, of the Indian report by Whipple, Thomas Ewbank, and William W. Turner.

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[20] *Mui adentro*—"very much within," *sc.*, the Yuta nation, or within those northern parts said; as is very true, considering the size of the Grand and the Green, which compose the Colorado.

[21] To what streams Garcés here alludes is quite uncertain. He can hardly mean by *riachuelos* the Green and the Grand, which compose the Colorado, for these are both great rivers. We may rather imagine that his stream from the north is the Rio Virgen or Virgin river, which flows south through Utah and a small corner of Nevada; and that the one from the northeast is the San Juan.

[22] Garcés' name of the Colorado Chiquito: note [36], p. 354, June 28.

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[23] Garcés' name of Cataract Cañon and creek: note [22], p. 335, and text of June 20, p. 336.

[24] Garcés' name of Bill Williams' river: note [6], p. 419, Aug. 5.

[25] The willows of the Colorado bottoms are not well determined. The cottonwood is *Populus fremonti*. The mesquite is *Prosopis juliflora*, for which another Spanish name is algarroba, source of the botanical generic name under which the tree used to be classified as *Algarobia glandulosa*. The tornilla or screw mesquite is *Prosopis pubescens*. Among various grasses which

Garcés proceeds to name we recognize carrizo as *Phragmites communis*, the common cane; tule is any bulrush or species of *Scirpus;* bledo and other zacatones are wholly uncertain.

even the Indians live distant therefrom. Seek the friendship of these nations of the river do all the others, as well for their numerousness as for their abundant harvests. The Indian men of its banks are well-formed, and the Indian women fat and healthy; the adornment of the men, as far up as the Jamajabs, is total nudity; that of the women is reduced to certain short and scanty petticoats of the bark of trees; they bathe at all seasons, and arrange the hair, which they always wear long (*suelto*), in diverse figures, utilizing for this purpose a kind of gum or sticky mud. Always are they painted, some with black, others with red (*encarnado*), and many with all colors. In passing from the Jamajabs they are found clothed with decency, as well the men as the women. All those of the banks of the river are very generous (*liverales*), and lovers of their country, in which they do not hunt game because they abound in all provisions. On the contrary, from the Jamajabs upward, they subsist upon game and forest fruits, for lack of crops.

The Yumas told me that there had been drowned a Spaniard who came up from the Cajuenches and was unwilling to wait till the Indians should take him across. Among the Quabajais, near the Tulares, I had myself known to have passed a Spaniard on foot, and who struck out for the sierra; he who could proceed to the Cajuenches and be the drowned one.

The Yumas wished to take me to Caborca,[26] but I desired rather to return by the same route that I took with the expedition. I arrived at the Cocomaricopas, where I met many Yumas who were returning to their lands. The Cocomaricopas of the Agua Caliente[27] told me that they had not concurred in the death of the Yabipais Tejua; I praised their independence, saying that they had done well, and counseling them that even though their relatives should call for them they should not go to fight in the lands of the Yabipais, inasmuch as they are few and live apart (from the others); that they should neither permit that the Yabipais should come to their lands, nor themselves should go to the latter's, because such intercourse (*correspondencia*) with the Yabipais was not to be carried into effect till the Españoles should come; and that for bartering they could go down to the Yumas, but without fighting, even though they should encounter (the Yabipais) on the road. The Yabipais Tejua do not yet know the lands of the Cocomaricopas, with exception of the Rancheria de la Pasion de Tucavi.[28]

I continued my journey, visiting the rancherias of the Opas, who received me with great gusto. I censured the treachery committed upon the Yabipais Tejua, but also gave them to understand that there would be no peace agreed upon until there should enter into their lands the Españoles and padres, who would examine the mind and heart of the Tejua, from whom, if they allowed them to enter into their lands and explore them, they could fear much.[89] The treachery of the Cocomaricopas with the Yabipais happened in this wise: A Yabipai of peace came down to the Cocomaricopas, these receiving him with great joy, feasting him, and giving him a concubine. Seeing this the Yabipai returned to his land and gave notice of it all. Then the Yabipais, thinking that now they were friends, which they desired much, came down, seven of them, to the Cocomaricopas. These received them with great joy, made a dance to entertain them, and therein killed them all treacherously. I have suspected that this may have been done through some evil counsel of the Pimas Gileños.

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[26] In Sonora: the place is fully noted elsewhere.

[27] On the Gila: note [illegible], p. 118, Nov. 14, 1775.

[28] This name of one of the Cocomaricopa rancherias I presume to have been given by Garcés on his previous entrada.

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[89] Literally rendered from the original, which is a model of ambiguity. The clause means that from them (Tejuas) if they (Opas) allowed them (Tejuas) to enter into their (Opas') lands and explore them (these lands), they (Opas) would have much to fear—á quienes si dexaban entrar en sus tierras y registrarlas podian temer mucho.

I arrived at the Pimas Gileños, accompanied by the governor of the Cocomaricopas. There was great rejoicement, for there had spread thus far the report that they (the Moquis) had me killed. The governor of the Pimas told me that all the relatives were well content, and wishing to make a feast, all the pueblos together. I agreed to this, but on condition that it should be apart from me, foreseeing in this what would come to pass. In a little while I heard that they were singing "a heap" (*de monton*); this was stopped presently, but was followed by a great uproar of discordant voices, and shouting, in which they said, "We are good! We are happy! We know God! We are the fellows to fight Apaches! We are glad the old man (as they call me) has come, and not been killed!"[30] This extravagant shouting (*exorbitante griteria*), a thing foreign to the seriousness of the Pimas, I knew came from drinking, which produced various effects. Some came and took me by the hand, saluting me. One said, "I am padre de Pedro." Another said to me, "Thou hast to baptize a child." Another, "This is thy home—betake not thyself to see the king, nor to Tucsón." Others made the sign of the cross,"[31] partly in Spanish; so that though I felt very angry at such general drunkenness, there did not fail me some gusto to hear the good expressions into which they burst, even when deprived of reason. The next day I complained of these excesses to the governor, who told me that it only happened a few times and in the season of saguaro,"[32] and adding that it made his people vomit yellow and kept them in good health.[33] What most pleased me was to see that no woman got drunk; instead of which I saw many of them leading by the bridle the horse upon which her husband was mounted, gathering up at the same time the clothes and beads that the men scattered about, in order that none should be lost.

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[30] „ Nosotros estamos buenos, estamos contentos, conozemos á Dios, somos gente para pelear con los Apaches, nos alegramos por que ha venido el viejo, (asi me nombran) y no lo han muerto „—

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[31] "Se persinaban" in copy, obviously for *se persignaban.*

[32] Otherwise *sahuaro*, etc., also *pitahaya*, *petahaya*, etc., the giant cactus or candelabra cactus, altogether the most conspicuous arborescence in many parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, and California. Its most frequent botanical name is *Cereus giganteus*, bestowed by Dr. Geo. Engelmann of St. Louis, first printed in 1858 on p. 158 of Emory's Reconn. of 1846-47; but this is far from being its earliest designation. I doubt not the history of the plant could be traced back to the very earliest Spanish records. Modern descriptions and figures are innumerable; aside from botanical accounts, such as Engelmann's in the Mex. Bound. Surv. Reports, a good notice may be read in Bartlett, Narr., ii, 1854, pp. 188-193, fig. on p. 189. The Pimas and other Indians make a kind of fig-paste of the fruit, also a sort of molasses, besides the intoxicating drink Garcés mentions. Salvatierra says, that the petahaya months among some Indians "resemble the carnival in some parts of Europe, when men are in a great measure stupefied or mad. The natives here, also, throw aside what little reason they have, giving themselves up to feastings, dancings, entertainment of the neighboring rancherias, buffooneries, and comedies, such as they are; and in these whole nights are spent to the high diversion of the audience." It should be observed, regarding the two names *saguaro* and *pitahaya*, that both are applied by some

Finally I arrived at my mission of San Xavier del Bac the 17th day of September of the year 1776: for which did I give and still do I give infinite thanks to God and to all my celestial patrons by whose favor and intercession I succeeded in escaping from every ill. Leagues 698½.

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writers to *Cereus giganteus*, and that each is also used of different species. Thus the author of the Rudo Ensayo, p. 149, uses "pitahaya" of a small Sonora cactus, with "stalks as thick as a large wax taper," evidently not meaning the giant cactus; and adds on the next page that the "saguaro" is larger, and found only in the highlands of the Pimas. In my own Arizona travels, I heard both names used indiscriminately of the unmistakable giant of those rocky fastnesses.

[33] Clause turned a little from—*y añadió asi bomitan amarillo los Parientes y queda el cuerpo bueno.*

END OF THE DIARY.

CHAPTER XII.

REFLECTIONS ON THE DIARY.

Although I have given in the Diary some account of the nations whom I have seen, and of others of whom I have been informed, all these being many and wide-spread, yet for this very reason is its disorder the greater; neither have I been able to explain myself properly, nor even when I could treat day by day to some extent of that which I saw, heard, or experienced, could I do so with particularity, it happening to me at every step to verify in a succeeding nation that which in the preceding one I had not understood or had doubted. Furthermore, having been twice in some nations, time and circumstances have multiplied the accounts and elucidated information. I have not had an interpreter for every nation, but I am confident of having comprehended their reports well enough; for, whenever they desired to know whence I came and whither I was going (*mi origen y camino*), they seated themselves on the ground and with a little stick drew a map, upon which they wished that the matter should be explained; and, as I also availed myself of the same means of answering them and questioning them, so could I not be left in doubt of the points of the compass, of the nations, of their situations, and by signs quite plain, of their friendship or hostility, style of dress, and other characteristics. Of the same means I availed myself to improve upon my information of the most distant (nations) in all directions; that Indians are naturally very intelligent is confirmed by repeated experiences, in which they never err, and anyone can rely in every respect upon what they say.[1]

These and other considerations have impelled me to complement with these Reflections the principal matters of my Diary concerning all the information that

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[1] The construction of this sentence seems to me involved, and I may not have translated it literally, though the sense appears clear. Its stands thus: "De este mismo medio me valia para adelantar las noticias de las mas distantes por todos rumbos, en lo que son mui inteligentes los Indios á lo natural confirmado con repetidas experiencias, en que nunca yerran, y puede fiarse qualquiera en el particular por lo que ellos dezen." Supposing that I have given the sense of the passage with substantial accuracy, I think Garcés overconfident in what he says, for two reasons: first, he may not always have understood what the Indians tried to tell him; and secondly, Indians are notorious adepts in parrying questions and throwing one off the track when they wish to do so.

I have acquired, touching at the same time upon other points which seem to me to be required.

POINT I.

Number of Nations and of Souls that I have visited, and of those of which I have had notification.

RIO GILA.			RIO COLORADO.		
Nations.	*Souls.*		*Nations.*	*Souls.*	
Papaga,	3000	A.	Cucapá.	3000	C.
Pima,	2500		Jalliquamay,	2000	
Cocomaricopa,	2500	B.	Cajuenche,	3000	
			Yuma,	3000	B.
			Jalchedun,	2500	
			Jamajab,	3000	B*
	8000			16,500	
				8,000	
Total,				24,500	

I note that the nations comprehended under the very same letter have the very same language, and those underneath the very same letter with the asterisk differ in some terms, being different in all from those comprehended under a different letter. From the Jamajab nation upward the Rio Colorado comes through profound caxones, wherefore do the Indians live distant therefrom. Those that I saw and of which I had information are the following:

ON THE NORTH AND NORTHWEST.		ON THE SOUTH AND SOUHEAST.	
Chemegué,	**D.**	**Payuchas and Yutas,**	**E.**
Chemegué Cuajála,		**Jaguallepai,**	**E.**
Chemegué Sevinta,		**Yabipai Cajuala,**	
Chemeguaba,		**Yabipai Cuercomache,**	
		Yabipai Jabesua,	
		Yabipai Muca, or Oraibe,	**FG.**

On the north of the Rio Colorado I had information were living the following nations:

Gualliva,	[No letter affixed.]
Aguachácha,	
Japui,	
Guálta,	
Baquiova,	

Those who inhabit the Sierra de California by the contiguities of the Rio Colorado and New Establishments of Monte-Rey, between which they have their abode or wander about (*tienen su asiento ó vagueacion*), are the following:

Cuñeil; bounded by San Diego and by the disemboguement,	**H.**
Quemayá; bounded by San Diego and by the Jalliquamais, Cajuenches, and Yumas,	**I.**
Jecuéche; extends to the first Jalchedunes and to the Puerto de San Carlos,	**J.**
Jenigueche; bounded by the Jalchedunes and Santa Anna	**J.**
Beñemé; bounded by San Gabriel and Santa Clara, and by the Chemeguabas and Jamajabs,	**J.**

Cuabajái; extends to the canal [de Sta. Barbara] and on the East to the Cobajis,	J.
Noche; extends beyond San Luis [Obispo], and on the East to the Cobajis,	K.
Cobaji; extends on the East to the Chemegué and on the West to the Noches,	L.

The space between the Rios Colorado and Gila is all occupied by the Yabipais. To the south of the Moqui is all Yabipais, noting that the name Yabipais is the same as Apáches; from which may be inferred how extensive is the territory that this nation occupies. Also I note that the number of souls is unmarked (*señalado es corto*), inasmuch as never could I succeed in seeing the whole nation. For those that I mark no number of souls, it is because I was only in the nearest (*primeras*) rancherias, or because I met the Indians in other nations, as happened to me with the Serranos and others; but I infer from their reports and from others I have obtained that they are neither so numerous nor restricted to so small a district as those of the Rios Colorado and Gila. Let it be borne in mind (*tengase presente*) also that in the names I set down there may be variation, seeing that the Indians call by different names one and the same nation, as I have observed in the case of the Jamajabs, whom the Jalchedunes and Cocomaricopas call Cuesninas[3] or Cuisnurs, howbeit (*siendo asi que*) the other nations give them the name of Jamajabs. To the Yabipais the Pimas Gileños give the name of Taros or Nifores;[3] the Jamajabs call them Yabipais, and the Españoles call them Apáches. Finally, I have learned that the dominant nations, and the most warlike of all are, with preference for their order, the following: On the Rio Gila, the Pima; on the Colorado, the Yuma, Jalchedun, and Jamajab; and the rest in the order antecedently collocated. No vestiges of religion[4] have I found in any of these nations; that which

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[3] It is notable to find Garcés speaking of the Mojaves by the name he uses, for this is almost invariably applied to the Hava-

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supai of Cataract cañon; regarding whom, see a note beyond, under Point 7.

[3] Nifores may have been a general or collective name used by the Pimas for the wild tribes living north of them, otherwise called Yabipais; but it is certain that Nifores is a term which has been used in a different sense from that here implied. For example, I cite a passage in Font's Diary, folio 325. Font is detailing one of his grievances against Ansa, in the matter of the number of interpreters, and says that Ansa put down an interpreter "of the nation Nixora, and there is no such nation, for in Pimeria are called Nixoras those Indians whom the nations beyond capture in their wars among themselves, and whom the Yumas and Papagos afterward bring to Altar and other places to sell as captives or slaves, of whatever nation they may be." Also, if we refer back to the scene of Garcés' murder (p. 22), we find that it was a "Nifora" among the Yumans who instigated that foul deed.

[4] Garcés must have had some strictly orthodox or otherwise professional notions about idolatry, or else he did not see very far into the religious cults of the Indians. They had an elabo-

I have seen is only some sorcerers, and no doubt they

rate system of dogma, ritual, and priestcraft, the difference between which and that of Garcés' church was simply the difference between an Indian and a Spaniard. The underlying principle was the same, on the Colorado as on the Tiber, in Arizona as in Rome.

The unanimity with which the padres, both Jesuit and Franciscan, disclaimed idolatry among their Indians is to me incomprehensible; sometimes I think I do not know what they mean by "idolatry." For if there is a basic fact in Indian religion, it is reverence for sacred symbols or fetiches of the most concrete material sort; just as the Catholics make fetiches of crucifixes and other images or paintings, strings of beads, bits of bread, sups of wine, and other objects, so do the Indians of their carvings and paintings of various things, bits of wood or bone, stones, feathers, hairs, seeds, etc. Where is the difference? Yet the Rudo Ensayo says, with comical naiveté, p. 171: "A favorable characteristic of all the nations which people the Province of Sonora, even including the Seris and Apaches, is that they neither have been nor are at present idolaters; nor have they any inclination to become so. Thus far no trace has been found at all of such a worship or adoration—no idols or objects which would indicate that such a thing had existed up to the present time. The only devotion that has been observed is one to the Devil, and this is rather caused by fear and stupidity than by inclination. I am led to believe this because in all the ranches or villages there has always been one or more sorcerers; at least they are called so; and these have ever been suspected and feared on account of the belief that they can do evil.

"I said that at least they are called so, because I cannot be persuaded to think that there have been real sorcerers among the Indians, and this for many reasons. 1st, Because the mischief they do is very little, considering the insatiable fury of the have their superstitions (*abusiones*); but I persuade myself that among them there is no formal idolatry.

Devil towards man. 2nd, All that is done in the way of charms is such that it can be explained by natural causes. 3d, Should the Indians have had any intercourse with the Devil, there would be a name for him in their language. But it is a fact well known to all persons acquainted with the language spoken in this Province, that there is no such name. We may, therefore, come to the conclusion that the enemy of mankind was unknown to the heathen nation."

All of which is vastly diverting to an initiate in the mysteries of the churches, and to one who knows as well as I do that his religion is the last thing an Indian will reveal to a white man. Very likely the Indians had no such "sorcerers" as they found the missionaries to be, after enforced conversion to sorcery of another variety! Perhaps they never knew the Spanish Diablo or El Demonio till they heard his name. But sorcery was their religion, as of a truth it was that of the missionaries, and they had plenty of devils of their own, while the missionaries could boast of but one.

"Point of view" makes a great difference. Take for example the Christian and heathen practice of praying for rain. The Rudo Ensayo, p. 173, says: "The Opatas had retained, until lately, among others a very curious custom. A number of girls, dressed in white or simply wearing a chemise, would come out at night to dance in a place previously well swept and embellished, leaving behind them, in the house from which they came, their musicians, who consisted of old men and women, making a noise with hollow gourds, sticks, and bones. This ceremony was called 'invoking the clouds,' for they performed it in times of drought, fully believing that in consequence of this performance the clouds would stop and sprinkle their fields. With God's help, however, this incantation became known to the Missionary Fathers in spite of the secrecy with which it was

POINT II.

Amities and Enmities.

At the present time [5] we must suppose at peace all the nations which inhabit the banks of the Rios Gila and Colorado, with the others adjoining (*colaterales*) except the Yabipais Tejua, who in some way have remained enemies of the Pimas and Cocomaricopas Gileños; but as it is not possible to rely with confidence upon a state of things so unstable (*pero como no se puede contar sobre seguro con ajuste tan de*

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held; and being shown their evident delusion, the abuse was stopped." But why was this considered a delusion and an abuse, unless the padres wanted a monopoly of the business of praying for rain? Nothing is more orthodox or commoner than for Christians of all sects to invoke heaven for rain and all other sorts of favors. Did the padres fear that the Indian ceremonial of incantation might be not less efficacious than their own? Indeed they were too firm believers in their own powers of causing vapor to condense from the clouds, "with God's help," to imagine for a moment that the heathen could have anything like the same ability. Yet this ability, or disability, was identical in the two cases—*Arcades ambo!* But an Indian was never known to dance for rain and not get it, because he continued to dance till it came, if he had to dance all summer; in which respect his religion was superior to that of the missionaries.

[5] *En el dia de hoy*—literally, "in the day of to-day."

paso), it will not be out of place to particularize the former friendships and hostilities whose effects still continue to smolder.[6] In the first place, the Cucapá have always been friends of the Cuñeiles who extend to the sea, and enemies of the Papagos who live on the coast of the Golfo de California,[7] as also of the Jalliquamais and Cajuenches. The Jalliquamais and Cajuenches have always preserved friendship with the Quemayá of the sierra who extend to the rancherias of San Diego, as also with the Jalchedunes; and have been enemies of the Yumas and Papagos of the seacoast (*marina*). The Yumas have always been on good terms with the Jamajabs, Yabipais Tejua, and Papagos of Sonoitac and of the seacoast; and have waged open (*viva*) war with the Jalchedunes, Cocomaricopas, Pimas Gileños, with all the nations down the river, and with the Jequiches of the sierra. The Jalchedunes have always been well disposed toward the Cocomaricopas, the Pimas Gileños, and all the nations that there are from the Yumas downward, as also toward the Papagos of the north, toward all the Yabipais excepting the Yabipais Tejua, and likewise toward the Jequiches and Jenigueches of the sierra who extend to the sea; being unable ever to reconcile themselves with their enemies the Jamajabs, the Yabipais Tejua, the Chemeguet, and the Yumas. The Jamajabs have been always united with the Yumas, with the Yabipais Tejua of the other side of the river, and with all the nations that there are as far as San Gabriel and San Luis (Obispo), and with the Chemeguet who inhabit the Rio Colorado on the side of the northwest and north; and have been in arms against all the Yabipais, including the pueblo of Oraibe and excluding the Tejua, and against the Jalchedunes, Jenigueches, and Jecuiches. The Pueblo of Oraybe holds and has held as friends all the Yabipais who dwell between the Colorado and Gila, excepting the Tejua and certain Yutas who inhabit those contiguities; the rest of the pueblos of Moqui, the missions of New Mexico, the Yabipais or Apaches of the south, who are those who infest these provinces; and their (*i. e.*, Oraibes') enemies are the Yabipais Tejua, the Yutas of the Colorado, the Yumas, the Chemeguabas, the Jamajabs, the Pimas Gileños, and the Cocomaricopas. The Yabipais whom I visited on the road to Moqui hold for friends those of the pueblo of Oraybe, the Jalchedunes, Chemeguabas, Cocomaricopas, Pimas, Yutas, Baquiovas, Yabipais Lipanes, and the Yabipais Natagé;[8] and their enemies are the Yabipais Tejua, the Jamajabs, and the Yumas, and further, on good grounds (*con mucho fundamento*) can I say that these Yabipais are also enemies of New Mexico.[9] The Yabipais Tejua are friends of the Yumas, of the Jamajabs, of the Chemeguabas, of the Yabipais Natagé, and of the Yabipais Gileños;[10] and are enemies of the Jalchedunes, of the Pimas Gileños, of the Cocomaricopas, of the Yabipais of above, and of Oraibe. The Chemeguaba nation is friendly to the Yutas and to all the Yabipais including the Tejua, as also to all the nations of the west; it is hostile to the Comanches, to the Jalchedunes, and to the Moqui. Those of the Rio Gila are all friends of one another and of the Jalchedunes, but enemies of the Tejua and Apaches.

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[6] Pero como ne se puede contar sobre seguro con ajuste tan de paso no será fuera de proposito individuar las amistades, ó enemestades antiguas cuyos efectos aun se ven todavia humear.

[7] The scholiast notes in the margin: "De esta parte de aca con Sonora," *i. e.*, on the Sonoran side of the Gulf of California.

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[8] Yabipais Natagé = wild Natagé or Natajé Apache—a division of the Lipan or of the Llanero of Texas and New Mexico, according to varying authorities; more probably of the Lipan, who have doubtless been included in the collective term Llaneros, *i. e.*, "plains people" or "plains Indians," the Apaches Vaqueros of other writers, the Querechos of Coronado's narrators (1541). The Natage or Natajé are now known only by the name, which according to Gatschet is probably derived from *no^{n}to^n*, *nante*, or *no^{n}ton*, "chief." See note [14] beyond.—F. W. H.

[9] The scholiast notes in the margin: "Se sabe esto por las hostilidades del Nuevo Mexico"—the actual hostilities in New Mexico warranted Garcés' statement.

[10] Yabipais Gileños are the Apaches of the Gila: see the Apache note beyond. Here as elsewhere it is evident that Garcés applied the term Yabipais to any and all "wild" Indians. It is no more specific than Chichimecos.

In this array (*convinacion*) of nations is evidenced how necessary it is for the arms of our king and lord to subdue and rule over all the Rio Colorado, in order to render permanent the establishments of Monterey and elsewhere, the nations of this river being connected as they are therewith; for if these (nations) of the Colorado prove to be hostile to us and betake themselves to join those of those establishments, the latter will be unable to subsist without great expense to the royal exchequer; and on the other hand it may be taken into account that whatever is expended in ruling over the Rio Colorado serves also to lighten the burden of the subsistence of those missions; and though the Serranos may remain beyond this domination, they are not a nation capable of doing anything worthy of being feared, especially as, whenever it might be necessary, through an insurrection or for any other reason, it would be easy and handy to send help from the Rio Colorado, and conversely. There may also be seen in the aforesaid array the connection or relation that the Apaches who infest these provinces maintain with all the nations beyond (*de adentro*); and they being friends, as just said, of the Yabipais Tejuas, as these are of the Chemeguabas who live on the other side of the river, there is also clearly seen what a grand and safe refuge they (Apaches) have among them (Tejuas and Chemeguabas) after their robberies, and how difficult it becomes on this account to subdue them.

POINT III.

Nations who are most ready to receive the catechism and render vassalage to our sovereign; and Missions which among them all can be most readily founded.

All the nations who inhabit the Rios Gila and Colorado, and as far as the Jamajab inclusive, have manifested very particular affection (*particularisimo afecto*) for the Españoles, as already said in the Diary; whom and whose ministers it appears to me they will receive with good grace. The missions which for their catechism become necessary are: In the Cucapá nation, two; one at Las Llagas, and the other at the Laguna de San Matheo. In the Jalliquamai nation, one, in the situation of Santa Rosa, on this side of the river. In the Yuma nation, two; one at San Pablo, and the other at Puerto de la Concepcion. In the Jalchedun nation, two; one at San Pedro, and the other at San Antonio. In the Jamajab nation, two; one at Santa Isabel, and the other at La Pasion. For the Rio Gila: In the Pima nation, two; one at San

Juan de Capistrano, and the other at La Encarnacion. In the Cocomaricopa nation, two; one at San Simon y Judas de Vpasoitac, and the other at San Diego de Uitorrum.[11] In the Papago nation, one at least at Sonoitac, and by good providence another at Ati.[12]

POINT IV.

Presidios Necessary.

The necessary presidios, number of their soldiers, and collocation that they are to have, are at the exclusive disposition of the superior government; but if my opinion is worth anything, it is this: On the supposition that the king our lord has allowed two presidios, one for the Rio Gila and the other for the Colorado, each of these being of fifty men, there could be founded under their protection two missions on each river; and if on the Colorado it be desired to found others, these being from the Yumas downward, it seems to me expedient that each presidio have ten men more, which I consider necessary for the guard (*escolta*—escort) of the missions—that is, for each one which may be founded. The reason is, because all these nations are numerous, powerful, and warlike, and in all parts have friends; and if we have to secure this river properly (*segun conviene*), this must be done with an adequate force (*gente suficiente*). This guard of ten men indicated for each mission ought to be always therein, and the captain be not allowed to decrease it or give it any other destination; and when they may be no longer considered necessary, let them vacate the premises as a relief to (*baquen las plasas á fabor de*) the royal coffers, or with them may be founded other missions. It appears to me also proper that all these men of the guard be married, in order that without hindrance may be accomplished the cause of God. Also am I of opinion that as far as may be possible, both the presidio and the missions be founded on the other side of the river, since with this defense (*baluarte*—bulwark) would be secured from the Apaches the horses and cattle; these do not know how to swim, nor, according to the foregoing suppositions, will there be anyone to drive them across the river, and consequently there cannot be experienced there that which to such great grief is experienced now in these provinces. This precaution may not be held useless, since from all that I have seen and heard I have formed an idea that the Apache, though it is not a very numerous nation, is to be dreaded for the great refuge that it possesses, as I have said in Point 2, in the country of its friends and of its own, beyond the Rio Colorado toward the north. All those whom I designate by the name of Yabipais are in reality Apaches. Also have they a great refuge and dispatch for the horse-herds they steal, in Moqui; for, as I have said, those of the Pueblo de Oraibe have friendship with the Yabipais Nabajay,[13] who are those who infest these lands. Considering, therefore, all these arguments and circumstances, I have held for an effectual means of subduing the Apache that which now I set forth in the following Point:

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[11] Of all these missions which Garcés proposed for the Colorado and Gila rivers, the only ones actually founded were the two among the Yumas, at Concepcion and San Pablo respectively, as already sufficiently indicated in the biography of Garcés and elsewhere in this work. All the localities here in mention have also been duly noted in earlier portions of the Diary.

[12] Sonoita or Sonoitac has already been repeatedly mentioned in this work. Ati was a place in Pimera Alta, on Rio Altar, between Tubutama and Altar; it appears as At on my blue print of a copy of Font's map, and elsewhere as Adi or Addi.

POINT V.

How to subdue the Apache.[14]

From all that has been said it is inferred, and it can be clearly seen on the map, that Moqui is not so far distant as has been presumed from the Pimas Gileños. On the supposition, then, that, as I said, our sover-

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[13] This is another instance of the comprehensiveness with which the author uses the term Yabipais, it being here extended to include the Navajos.

[14] Apache, from the Cuchan (Yuma) *apa*, man; *ahwa*, war,

fight, battle; *tche*, the nominal suffix of the plural = Apahuatche, contracted to Apache, hostile man, warrior, etc. Owing to the comprehensiveness of the term, it having been applied since early historic times to many warlike tribes regardless of their affinity, it would be difficult to determine just which Indians were meant under Garcés' designation of "Apache" had not Don José Cortes, an officer of the Spanish royal engineers, stationed evidently at one of the Sonoran presidios a quarter of a century later, left a MS. that clears up the point. This document, dated 1799, is in the Peter Force collection in the Library of Congress, but a considerable extract from it, translated by the scholarly Buckingham Smith, appears as chap. vii, part iii, pp. 118-27, of Whipple's Pacific Railroad Report, vol. iii (H. R., 33d Cong., 2d Sess., Ex. Doc. 91), Washington, 1856. Cortes says: "The Spaniards understand by Apache nation the Tonto Indians, the Chiricagüis, Gileños, Mimbreños, Taracones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Navajós. All these bands are called by the generic name of Apache, and each of them governs itself independently of the rest. There are other tribes, to whom it is usual to give the same name, such as the Xicarilla Indians." These divisions may be analyzed as follows: (1) Tonto (Span. "foolish," "stupid," so called "from their notorious imbecility"). The name has been almost inextricably confused by authors and has been applied: (*a*) to a tribe of the Yuman family (also called Apache Yuma, Gohun, Kohun, Quejuen), since 1875 settled on the San Carlos reservation, Arizona; best designated as the Tulkepaia; (*b*) to an Athapascan tribe well known as the Pinal Coyotero (properly the Deldje, Red Ant, or Red Earth people); (*c*) to the Pinaleño or Pinal Apache (properly the Tchi-kûn); (*d*) to a body of Indians mostly Yavapai (Yuman) men and Pinaleño (Athapascan) women who have intermarried. At the time of Garcés they eign monarch has allowed a presidio for the missions which will be founded on the banks of this river: it is

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ranged over the country occupied by the Tonto basin and Pinal mountains in central Arizona. (2) Chiricahua (from *ts'ihl* or *tsil*, mountain; *kowa*, great). Their own name is Aihá, Aiahá, or Hayá-a, but they have been variously termed Apaches Broncos, Cochise Apaches (from their chief's name), Chericahui, Chigui-cagui, Chilecago, Chile Cowe, Chilicagua, Chiricagüi, Chiriguai, Chirikahwa, Chirocahue, Cochees, etc., etc. The band took its name from its mountainous habitat, the Sierra Chiricahua in southeastern Arizona, although they frequently ranged to the Gila, and throughout the neighboring territory of northern Chihuahua. (3) Gileños; so called from their habitat, the Rio Gila. Some writers have divided them into the Coyoteros, Mogollones, Tontos Mimbreños, Chiricahuas, and Pinaleños; in other words they were the outlying bands of various Apache divisions, especially the Mogollon and Mimbreño, residing on or near the Gila. They are the Apaches de Xila of Benavides (1630), the Jilenos, Coppermine Apaches, Gilans, Mangus Colorado's band, Southern Apache, and Xileños of other writers, and the Yavipais-Gileños of Garcés. (4) Mimbreño: formerly a numerous band which took its name from the Mimbres (Sp. willows) mountains over which they generally roamed in southern New Mexico and northern Chihuahua. Their own name, according to Orozco y Berra and Escudero, is Iccu-jenne or Yecujen-ne. Others have called them Membrenos, Miembres, Mimbres, Mimbrenas, and Mimvres. (5) Taracone. More generally called Faraone, an Apache division whose name alone survives. Orozco y Berra says their Apache name is Yuta-jenne, which would suggest the name Uta or Ute. Under the names Faraone, Taracone, Pharaona, etc., they roamed over southeastern New Mexico, between the Pecos and the Rio Grande, and as far south as the present Mexican boundary. Early writers regarded them as more closely my opinion, with due deference to a better one (*salvo otro mejor*), that this presidio should be located in the

allied to the Jicarilla than to any other Apache division, and it is not unlikely that they were absorbed by the Jicarilla and Mescalero. (6) Mescalero (from *mescal*, a cactaceous product made into bread and used by these and other tribes). They occupied the valley of the Pecos in New Mexico and Mexico, ranging as far south as the Bolson de Mapimi. They have also been termed Mescatera, Mescolero, Mezcalero, Miscalero, Moscalara, Mu-ca-la-moes, Musalero, Muscalaroe, Muskalero, etc. Other Apache tribes apply to them the names Na-isha, Na-ishi, Na-ishtishe; the Navaho name is Nashkáli-dinné. The remnants of the tribe, numbering 450, are now on the Mescalero reservation in southeastern New Mexico. 7. Llaneros, *i. e.*, People of the Plains, Plains Indians. Formerly said to be a numerous division, but determined by Mooney to be in reality only a division of the Mescalero, with whom they have evidently been consolidated. The Llanero band ranged the plains eastward of the Mescalero habitat proper, between the lower Pecos and lower Rio Grande. Like the names Gileño, Mimbreño, Taracone or Faraone, the term Llanero, as applied to a geographical division of the Apache, is known only in history. 8. Lipan. From *Ipa-nde* (*nde* = men, people), their own name; also called by various writers Gipanes, Lapan, Lapana, Lapane, Lee Pani, Lee Pawnee, Lipaines, Lipau, Lipaw, Lippan, Seepan, Sinapan, etc.; the Yavipai-Lipanes of Garcés. They were apparently mentioned for the first time in 1699 (*Margry*) as allies of the Comanche. About this time and for at least a century later they occupied the region of Texas drained by the San Saba and Colorado rivers, being east of the Llaneros. In 1805 they were said to have 750 warriors, but the population had dwindled to 150 souls in 1840, when their principal habitat was on the Rio Nueces. Later (1856) they were ranging the country from Tucumcari creek, along the Canadian region intervening between the Pimas Gileños and the Moqui; to which end I find the most suitable

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and occasionally to the Pecos, as well as in Mexico. The principal remnant of the tribe is now in the Santa Rosa mountains, northern Coahuila; the remaining few are with the Mescaleros in New Mexico, and on the Ponca, Pawnee, and Otoe reservation in Indian Territory. 9. Navajo or Navaho. The name of this important and populous tribe is of doubtful origin. It has been suggested that it is derived from the Spanish *navája*, a clasp-knife, the term having been applied in allusion to the tribal sign for the Navaho among the plains Indians, which is translated "knife-whetters." Inasmuch as the first reference to the tribe, however, is given by a Spaniard (Zarate-Salmeron, 1626) under the designation "Apaches de Nabaju," this interpretation does not hold. According to Benavides (about 1630) the name Navajo signifies *sementeras grandes* ("great sowings"), but the reason for such an interpretation is involved in doubt, as the Navaho could scarcely have been regarded as an agricultural tribe at that time. During the first 200 years of Spanish exploration in New Mexico the Navaho were not mentioned. Indeed the Apache were not mentioned until 1598 (Oñate), although New Mexico had been scoured by Coronado and his subordinates, by Chamuscado, Espejo, and others prior to Oñate's time. The Navaho early came into possession of sheep, which required them to lead a semi-sedentary life and thus to remain in practically the same area, which they have occupied since known to history. The present Navaho reservation, in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona, practically covers their earliest habitat. The tribe numbers about 20,500. The most important work on this tribe is Matthews' "Navaho Legends," Boston and New York, 1897. 10. Xicarilla; better known under the more modern form Jicarilla; also called by various writers Gicarillas, Icarilla, Icharilla, Iicarrillas, Jacarilla, Jecorilla, Jicara, Jicarillo, Jic-

(place to be) on the Rio de la Asumpcion or in such of its vicinity as may be within the Tejua nation. This presidio would very suitably consist of 50 cuirassiers (*soldados de cuera*), 80 dragoons, and 50 convicts—and if more, so much the better. In this way, and in this situation of good pasturage, can be furnished the guard necessary for the missions which may be founded on the Rio Gila. I regard this presidio as a formidable defense (*antemurál*) against the Apaches; for when they, harassed by our arms, may seek to retreat to our—I mean to their—lurking

carilla, Jickorie, Ticorilla, etc., from *xicara*, a cup-shaped basket, from the Aztec *xicara*, a cup; so called on account of the small baskets which they made. These were the northernmost division of the Apache, being regarded as the northern stem of the Faraones or Apaches Vaqueros. Their principal habitat was northeastern and northern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado, about the headwaters of the Arkansaw and Canadian and the upper Rio Grande. They are now on a reservation in northwestern New Mexico, where they number 853.—F. W. H.

"How to subdue the Apache" when we took possession of New Mexico and Arizona in 1846 was as serious a question as it had been in Garcés' time; and it was not settled till General Crook finally accomplished the task, after these Indians had devastated much of the country for nearly 30 years after we acquired it. It is interesting to note that one of the means to this end which Garcés recommended was the establishment of a presidio on Rio de la Asumpcion—precisely the measure which our government took when it planted Fort Verde on the river of that name. I was post surgeon there in 1881, and know how important a military establishment this one had been.

places,[18] they have to encounter it, and to sustain great injury at little cost to its garrison; it will also prevent them from going to their friends the Tejua who, intimidated by the strength of this presidio, will abstain from rendering them assistance. I stated before in the Diary what these Indians imparted to me when I saw them among the Yumas, and also who are their friends; from all of which I gather that the missions being founded on the Rio Gila and Colorado, they will be the only friends left of the Apaches who harass us; on which account, recognizing our superior forces, I do not doubt that they will be prevailed upon to seek rather our friendship. This presidio will be able to cut off communication with Oraibe,[19] and by this means we can ascertain whether the Moquinos and other Yabipais furnish aid to the Apaches, or receive a share of our horse-herds; supposing that the beasts I saw, as I noted in the Diary, were stolen. Also will this presidio serve to open the communication of these provinces with New Mexico, and do away with any occasions for alarm (*evitará algunos*

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[18] Literally rendered after the original—"retirar á (nuestras madrigueras) digo (á sus madrigueras," etc. Copy does not close the last parenthesis.

[19] Este presidio podra cortar hasta Oraibe, etc. Here the expression *cortar hasta* seems to be used in the military sense of cutting off an enemy's communication in a certain quarter.

sustos) that the missions of the Colorado can have, effecting by the respect (it inspires) the result that the treaties of peace these nations have celebrated may be permanent. Equally well can this presidio serve in time for the subjection of the Moquis, who at present without it show themselves so insolent. These are the masters (*dueños*) of the nations in the commerce they carry on, for the awls, dibbles, hoes, knives, leggings of red baize, and certain fabrics, which are found in the other nations, all issue from Moqui, whereto they come from New Mexico. Furthermore, according to what the Indian from Zuñi told me, there comes every year to Oraibe a blacksmith to make for them awls, knives, and other hardware. That is the reason why this pueblo holds itself very much aloof, refusing to adopt the (Catholic) faith, on the pretense that the friendship of the Españoles can be said to be feigned, or at least not disinterested, since they abhor the very ones with whom they trade.[17] On all which account I say that this presidio can well serve the purpose of humiliating and subduing them, the gentiles being able (*i. e.*, allowed), if we deal with them as the king commands, to come for these and other necessary things to the presidio; in which they will procure their own advantage, and we the profits that now (accrue to) the Moquinos; and if thereupon it may appear expedient to prohibit to them the commerce with New Mexico, this will be the better reason for them to humble themselves and even seek the friendship of the Españoles, to which they are at present so repugnant. Not less can this presidio serve to defend the route that there is, so far as I have seen and gone over it, to pass to Monte Rey; for, according to the idea I have formed, this will be the most fitting (*mas proporcionado*): From Chiguagua [18] to Janos; from Janos to

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[17] Causa por que este Pueblo se mantiene mui sobre si resistiendo el admitir la Fé, con el pretexto de los Españoles cuya amistad se puede decir que es fingida ó á lo menos interesable pues aborrezen á los mismos con quienes comercian. I am not sure of my translation, and suspect some misconstruction of the clause, *con el pretexto de los Españoles cuya*, etc. The pub. Doc. has nothing of the sort. The Beaumont MS. reads: ". . . y resiste el admitir la fe, con el pretexto de los Españoles, cuya amistad

bien se puede dezir, que es fingida, ô a lo menos interesable, quando comercian con ellos, y los aborrezen."

[18] From the city of Chihuahua there was and is a highway to the Presidio de Janos via Carmen. Thus far between the two points named the way is northward, not far from coincident with the railroad. At Carmen it turns northwestward, and passes through Galeana, Casas Grandes (not those of Arizona!), Barranca, and Corralita, to Janos. Continuing northwest from Janos, San Bernardino is reached, almost in the extreme S. E. corner of Arizona. The route is thence to the Santa Cruz of which Garcés speaks, a place not on the present Santa Cruz river, but on Rio San Pedro; following down which stream its confluence with the Gila is reached at present Dudleyville, about

San Bernardino; from San Bernardino to Santa Cruz; from Santa Cruz to the confluence of the Rios Gila and San Pedro; hence to that of the Rio de la Asumpcion; from Rio de la Asumpcion to Rio de Santa Maria; hence to the Rio Colorado, and by the route that I took to the Rio de San Felipe, or crossing the sierra through the Chemeguet Cajuala to come out upon the same Rio de San Felipe; and if also it is wished to cross the Sierra de California, it is possible by way of the Jecuiches, or Jenegueches, to reach San Gabriel. This conception have I formed on the supposition that it will not be possible to succeed in what is thus far set forth until our arms cut off retreat from the Apache. The Jamajabs assured me that the nations of the north possessed horses, and as I noted in the Diary I myself saw the trail of the Yabipais Tejua that led to the Chemeguabas who live on the other side of the Rio Colorado, where it seems to me probable there will be brought (*baya á parar*) a great part of the numerous horse-herds that they have stolen from us, and that thence they pass beyond. It

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10 miles north of *old* Camp Grant, in Pinal county. Garcés would continue this route to the place on the Rio de la Asumpcion, or the modern Rio Verde, where he hoped to see the presidio established, and thence onward to his Rio de Santa Maria, or present Bill Williams' fork of the Colorado; from which last river he offers alternative routes in California to reach the mission of San Gabriel.

appears to me that on the Rio de la Asumpcion are found situations very suitable for crops; and if not, there is immediate recourse to the Gila. Given the missions, together with this presidio, and care being taken in New Mexico that the Apaches do not lurk there, I trust may be greatly furthered the project of subduing them entirely.

POINT VI.

Routes which can serve for the communication of these Provinces with New Mexico and Monte-Rey.

I assume at the outset that for 700 or 1000 men to pass there is no road whatever in all that (region) which I have seen and gone over; but for a moderate outfit (*cosa*) there is primarily the road which has been taken by the two expeditions of these years past. Besides this, there are the two roads that I put in the Diary: that of the going to San Gabriel, and that of the return; one and the other are good in the footing, and abounding in grass, but both have a scanty aguage; may be it can be made more abundant by digging and purifying.[19] The shortest and best way, in my opinion, must be, to proceed from the Rio Gila to the Jalchedunes, whence, the river (Colorado) being passed, there are at a day's journey the Tinajas de San Joseph, abounding in water, and next day to the Jecuiches or Danzarines, where they tell me there are lagunas with carrizo and no lack of grass of that (sort) which the soldiers call galleta; and through here to proceed to the Puerto de San Carlos; but if it be not desired to go by this last, it is possible from the nearest Jecuiches to proceed by the skirt of the Sierra Nevada to the Jeniguecheś of the same sierra; and from these in a day's journey to the Arroyo de los Martires, and thence to San Gabriel or San Luis (Obispo) by the road that Don Pedro Faxes took; and if even this road does not suit (*no quadra*), there can be taken that which I went over. This is what I can say concerning the communication of Sonora with Monte-Rey.[30] As regards that of New Mexico, it is possible to proceed through the Yutas and seek the Rio de San Felipe, and down the banks of this will be found my road. I doubt not that there may open another, better, and shorter than that which I traced from Oraibe to the Jalchedunes, for inasmuch as I was at the mercy of the Indians I went where they took me, though I did not fail to know how roundabout I was going; but it was necessary for me to be careful to give them pleasure, and let them know I was not going through their lands for mere curiosity, but to visit them and speak to them of the good things. Even more of this will I say under the following Point:

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[19] *Puede ser se haga mas abundante profundizandolo y limpiandolo*, meaning that the scanty water supply of such an aguage as is usually found on these routes can probably be increased sufficiently by digging such a place deeper and allowing the water to settle.

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[30] The tribes and places named in the above paragraph have all been noted in the body of the Diary where they came up. It will be here recalled that the Puerto de San Carlos is the modern San Gorgonio pass through which the railroad goes; the Arroyo de los Martires, the Mojave river; and Rio de San Felipe, Kern river.

POINT VII.

On the Reports communicated to Mexico by the Rev. Padre Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, Minister of the Missions of Zuñi, year of 1775.

One month after having arrived from my journey at the Mision de San Xavier del Bac I received a letter from the most excellent señor viceroy and with it a copy of another of the Rev. Padre Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, dated in New Mexico on the 18th of August of aforesaid year,[21] which (letter), though they sent it to me to the Rio Colorado, they had to bring back, for I had already set forth for above (up

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[21] As we have seen, p. 440, Garcés reached his mission of Bac Sept. 17, 1776; so his reception there of Escalante's letter of Aug. 18, 1775, with the one from the viceroy, was on or about Oct. 17, 1776. To exactly what letter of Escalante Garcés here refers is uncertain. It cannot have been any report of the famous expedition he made with Francisco Atanasio Dominguez in New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona, for this began

July 29, 1776, at Santa Fé, and ended there Jan. 2, 1777; and we observe by the heading of Point 7, above, that Garcés is referring to some Escalante writings of 1775. What he means may be the same as or similar to the report cited by Bancroft, Hist. Ariz. and N. M., p. 261, as of date Oct. 28, 1775, entitled: Informe y Diario de la Entrada que en junio 1775 hizo en la provincia de Moqui, MS., in N. Mex. Doc. 1022-57, and also without title, *ibid.*, 951-84; followed *ibid.*, 985-1013, by Escalante's Carta de 1776 sobre Moqui. As well as I can judge, being thus somewhat in the dark, the subject of Garcés' criticisms in the above text is Escalante's report of his visit to the Moquis in June, 1775, when, as said by Bancroft, *l. c.*, "he spent eight days in the Moqui towns, trying in vain to reach the Rio Grande de Cosninas beyond. In a report to the governor [Mendinueta] he gave a description of the pueblos—where he found 7,494 souls, two thirds of them at Oraibe, in seven pueblos on three separate mesas—and his ideas of what should be done. He earnestly recommended—subsequently writing to his superior a long argument in support of his proposition—that the Moquis should be reduced by force of arms, and a presidio established there. The Moquinos, he said, were well disposed, but their chiefs had determined not to give up their power, not only keeping their own people from submission, but the Cosninas as well, who were eager to be Christians." From all of which it is obvious that Escalante was not only an orthodox Spanish ecclesiastic, but also what would be called to-day an expansionist and an imperialist, who proposed to evangelize and civilize the Moquis by the methods of militarism we are now applying to the Filipinos, with the approval of the jingos amongst us and to the disgust of decent American citizens who blush with shame at the dishonor of their country in reverting to Spanish methods of catechism and vassalage. But the river). I read with the closest attention said copy, and as to the statement made to the cited reverend

sturdy Moquis were too much for the combined machinations of the Spanish priests and Spanish soldiers; their patriotism and good sense saved them from the fate of most other pueblos; there never was a presidio at Moqui, and the result is that those people are living peacefully, happily, and prosperously on the site of their ancient settlement.

I should say more of Escalante in this connection, did I not meditate making his famous tour of 1776-77 the subject of a future volume of the American Explorer Series. Here, however, I will insert an interesting bit relating to that expedition, which I noted and copied when I was overhauling the archives of New Mexico at Santa Fé in Aug.-Sept., 1898. It is simply a letter from the Marqués de Croix to Governor Mendinueta, acknowledging the reception of the diaries and map of Dominguez and Escalante, which the governor had sent to him on May 5, 1777. The letter speaks of the discoveries of these priests from the "capital de ese reyno," *i. e.*, from Santa Fé, N. M., "al Puerto de Monterey," though of course they never went to Monterey, nor even entered the California of to-day. The letter is a fair example of the form of routine official correspondence in those days, beginning "my dear Sir" (*Muy S.^{or} mio*), ending with "God keep you many years" (Dios gue. a VS. m. a.—Dios guarde á Usted muchos años), and concluding with the customary kissing of the hands to the governor on the part of his most obedient faithful servant the Cavallero De Croix; the whole subscription being autographic, but the body of the letter in a clerk's handwriting. Here is the letter word for word:

Muy S.^{or} mio: He recivido los Diarios, y la Mapa, que VS. me remite en carta de 5 de Mayo. sobre los descubrimientos que los RR. PP. Fr. Fran.^{co} Atanasio Dominguez, y fr. Sil-

padre by the Cosnina Indian I say that what he called Rio de los Misterios is the Colorado; the assertion that it is impassable to the Cosninas and that they do not know if there be people on the other side was exaggeration or misunderstanding of the Indian, for it is certain that there are people, and friends of theirs, on the other side of the river; such are the Chemeguabas, the Chemeguabas Sevintas, and the Cajuales. It is true that the river may be difficult for them to cross, because, as said already, from the Jamajabs upward, it goes much encañoned and the ground is very rough; but for all that they pass, not only the Yabipais who live in the contiguities, but also the Yabipais Tejua. The Cosninas [22] that the padre speaks of

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vestre Velez de Escalante, han hecho desde la Capital de ese Reyno al Puerto de Monterey. Y oportunamente comunicaré a VS. mis resoluciones sobre este asunto.

Dios gue. a VS. m. a. Mexico 30 de Julio de 1777
[Signed] B. l. M. de V. S. su mas
atento seg.^{ro} servidor
El Cav.^{ro} De Croix.

S.^{ro} D.^{n} Pedro fermin
de Mendinueta }
S.^{ta} fee

[22] Garcés seems to have persuaded himself of error on this point; though it is possible that the name in question may have been applied to the Mojaves, yet is it certain that the Cosninas of present and recent literature are the Havasupai of Cataract cañon. The name appears in many forms; for example, I have noted the following passage in Bartlett's Narr., ii,

I persuade myself are the Jamajabs, for I heard other nations call them Culisnurs, or Culisnisna, instead of

1854, p. 178: "The Cosninos I presume to be the same as the Coch-nich-nos, whom Mr. [Antoine] Leroux met in his late journey down the Colorado, although, on account of their hostility, he had no intercourse with them." Mr. Hodge furnishes the following note regarding the Cosninos:

A small tribe, more correctly known as Havasupai, but officially recognized as Supai or Suppai, residing in the gorge of Cataract creek, a tributary of the Colorado, in northwestern Arizona. The name Havasupai bears the interpretation "people of the green water," and is believed to refer to the numerous willows that line the banks of the creek where they have made their home since before Garcés' time; hence also another designation, "Willow people," or "Nation of the Willows." By others the name is said to be a Walapai term signifying "Down-in people." Although belonging to the Yuman stock, a linguistic group composed of tribes far removed from the culture of the Pueblos, the Havasupai have preserved traditions of their former occupancy of now-ruined pueblos on the Colorado Chiquito, and indeed the cavate lodges near San Francisco mountains still bear the name "Cosonino" or "Cohonino" caves. They are reputed to have abandoned these villages and to have sought refuge in their cañon home at the time the Apache made their appearance in the territory which the latter occupied in Arizona until within recent times—a period traceable to about the latter part of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. The houses of the Havasupai consist of temporary cabins or shelters of wattled canes and branches and earth in summer, and of natural caves and rocky crevices in winter. They subsist by agriculture, although fifty years ago they made hunting excursions for a hundred miles southward. In addition to their crops of corn, calabashes, melons, peaches, and apricots, they eke out a livelihood by means of sunflower

Jamajabs, though I cannot understand how the Indian informant went from their rancherias, for these are enemies of the pueblos of Moqui, and before my passage were also (enemies) of the intermediate Yabipais. It is certain that these Jamajabs or Culisnisnas know from the Yabipais Tejua and from the Yumas that we live in these lands. The Chidumas, who I persuade myself are the Yumas,[88] up to the present time have I not heard that they eat human flesh, as the Indian informed the reverend padre. As to the sierras he speaks of, he does not go far from the truth, for it is certain that there are those two sierras; but as to the points of the compass and the number of days there is much contradiction in the notion of the reverend padre that the transit has itself to seek (*i. e.*, must be sought) through the Yutas who live at the conflu-

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seeds, prickly-pears (*tunas*), and mescal, together with the limited game supply afforded by the immediately surrounding country. Population in 1896, 253. Other forms of their name are: Agua Supais, Ah-supai, Ava-supies, Casinos, Casnino, Co-a-ni-nis, Cochineans, Cochnichnos, Coçoninos, Cohoninos, Cojnino, Cominas, Coninas, Cosninas, Cuesninas, Cuismer, Culisnisnas, Culisnurs, Habasopis, Havasopis, Hava-su-pay, Havesu-pai, Havisua Pai, Java Supais, Javeusa, Kochonino, Ku'h-nis, Supies, Supis, Suppai, Tonto Cosnino, Yavai Suppai, Yuva-Supai.—F. W. H.

[88] This is correct, in the sense that the Chidumas of Escalante were the Yuman tribe variously called Alchedomas, Halchedomas, Jalchedomas, Jalchedums, etc.

ence of the rivers to the north of Moqui, of whom I learned that they were friends of New Mexico, and that, having here passed the Rio Colorado, they roam[24] southwest, descending to the Chemeguet Cajuala who live on the other side, and seeking the Rio de San Felipe, they follow it to where I was. If from the said Yutas be taken the direction westnorthwest, as says the reverend padre, it is certain one could go to Monte-Rey and also to the Puerto de San Francisco, if there did not intervene the broad Tulares which have now been discovered, and through which only will it be possible to pass by means of boats (*en caso de disponer embarcaciones*). But even proceeding on this course it appears to me possible to traverse the large river of which I had information among the Noches, and which is that which discharges (*desagua*) in the Tulares united with the Rio de San Felipe or very close thereto; yet this seems to me a great circuit for the transit to Monte Rey, and in any event there is required the descent to head[25] said Tulares. For this would be very useful, in spite of the greater distance, the discovery of the cited large river which according to reports comes from the northwest and may be the one which they called (Rio) del Tizon[26] on the expedition that in the year 1604 Don Juan de Oñate[27] made from New Mexico. Also do I persuade myself

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[24] The word used is *jirar* for *girar*, to gyrate, turn about. The sense is clear, though "turn" would be more literal than "roam."

[25] *Descabezar*, literally decapitate, behead, or "head off." The "descent" said to be required is southward.

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[26] There is a double error here, for the Rio del Tizon or Firebrand river was the Colorado itself, and it was so called by Melchior Diaz in 1540, not by Oñate in 1604, who named it Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza: see note [illegible], p. 136. Another name of the Colorado was Rio de Buena Guia (Alarcon, 1540).

[27] See note [illegible], p. 144, for a brief mention of Oñate's expedition, some further account of which may be here given, in part from Bancroft's digest of the records in Hist. Ariz. and N. M., pp. 154-157. Oñate was at the time governor, and desired to reach the Mar del Sur or South Sea (Gulf of California) from his capital of New Mexico, which was then at San Juan (de los Caballeros—for Santa Fé had not as yet been founded). He started on Oct. 7, 1604, with Padres Francisco Escobar and San Buenaventura, and some 30 men. He passed through Zuñi, whose chief town was Havico or Ha Huico (otherwise Hawiku, one of the cities of Cibola), and thence on to the 5 or 6 Moqui pueblos, with their 450 houses and inhabitants weaving cotton. Ten leagues westward the expedition crossed a river flowing from S. E. to N. W., named Rio Colorado from the redness of its waters, and said to flow into the Sea of California after a turn to the west and a course of 200 leagues through a country of pines. This stream was of course the one now known as the Colorado Chiquito or Little Colorado river, supposed to be the main water-course; and the name bestowed is no doubt the original application of the term Colorado to any portion of the great water-course which bears the name to-day. The Colorado Chiquito was crossed at a place called San José, and the expedition next came upon two streams which were named respectively Rio San Antonio and Rio Sacramento. These were no doubt two branches of the present Rio Verde in the region north of Prescott, Ariz., where Espejo had been 23 years before. The people hereabouts were called Cruzados

from their fashion of wearing little crosses in the hair of the forehead, and they said that the sea was 20 days or 100 leagues distant, and to be reached by going two days to a small river which flowed into a larger one, which itself flowed into the sea. The expedition verified this by coming in 15 leagues to a stream they named Rio San Andrés, where the tierra caliente produced pitahaya, and by going down it they found the large stream they had sought. In other words, Oñate went down the present Bill Williams' fork (which it will be remembered is the Santa Maria of Garcés) to its confluence with the Colorado, which was then and there named Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza, or Good Hope river. He does not appear to have recognized this as the main stream of which his Rio Colorado was a branch; but he knew it to be the one which had long before been named Rio del Tizon or Firebrand river.

The Indians then living on the Colorado for some distance above and below the mouth of the San Andrés were the Amacava or Amajava nation—that is, the Mojave. Captain Marquez went up the river a short distance, and then the expedition followed it downward. Next below the Amacavas were found the Bahacechas, and then the Ozaras, these last living on a large river which entered from the east, and was named Rio del Nombre de Jesus. This was of course the Gila. For 20 leagues below the junction the country was populated by tribes similar in language and manners to the Bahacechas—*i. e.*, Yuman tribes, the population of which, on the eastern bank alone, was given as 20,000. There were the Halchedumas in 8 rancherias; Coahuanas, in 9; Tlaglli, or Haglli, in 5; Tlalliguamayas, in 6; and finally Cocopas in 9 settlements at the head of tidewater, 5 leagues from the river's mouth. This tidewater was reached on Jan. 23, 1605, and on the 25th Oñate with the two friars and nine men went down to the disemboguement, where he found a fine harbor, with an island in the center, where it was thought this river may be the very one of which they gave in-

that a thousand ships might ride at anchor. This was formally named Puerto de la Conversion de San Pablo. The expedition returned by the same way it had gone, and reached San Gabriel April 25, 1605. (This San Gabriel was so named by Oñate in 1599; it was the place he had begun to build Aug. 23, 1598, and had called San Francisco de los Españoles. This and the above mentioned San Juan (de los Caballeros) were on opposite sides of the Rio Grande del Norte, about the mouth of the Rio Chama; and these settlements were prior to the location of Santa Fé in 1608.)

Though the itinerary of this extremely important expedition across New Mexico and Arizona, from the Rio Grande at the mouth of Rio Chama to the Colorado at the mouth of Bill Williams' fork, is not so precise and detailed as we could wish, it is easy to appreciate the route approximately, as coinciding more or less nearly with the line of the present railroad, and with the explorations of Sitgreaves, Whipple, and E. F. Beale. But there is one point on Oñate's journey where we can actually put our finger on him, so to speak; for he was at El Morro or Inscription Rock, and the record thereon inscribed is still legible in part—or was so recently. As rendered in alleged facsimile by Lieut. J. H. Simpson, on his lithographic plate 69, in the Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64, 31st Congr., 1st session, 8vo, Washington, 1850, the inscription looks something like this:

"Paso pora quielanzadod on
del descubrim
16 dea briball606"

The able officer who has given us this and many other invaluable records from the same rock had evidently no clew to the meaning, though he had the assistance of Chief Justice J. Houghton, Señor Donaciano Vigil, secretary of the province, formation to the Reverend Padre Fray Juan de la Asumpcion,[28] a religious of N. P. S. Francisco, who in the year of 1538 entered through Sinaloa by order of the M. R. P. Fray Marcos de Nisa,[29] in whose rela-

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and Samuel Ellison, the official translator (!); for on p. 125 of his book he rendered the glyph as follows:

"Passed by this place with despatch, (a word or two not decipherable,) 16th day of April, 1606."

But Lummis, in his Strange Corners, as heretofore cited, has been more fortunate. He reads as follows:

"Paso por aqí el adelantado don juª de oñate ? a descubrimiento de la mar del sur a 16 de Abril ao 1606." With this indication, parting off the letters to make the right words, and supplying in brackets illegible parts of the inscription, we arrive at the following close approximation to the original:

"Paso por aqui el adelantado don [Juan de Oñate]
del descubrim[iento de la Mar del Sur]
16 de abril ao 1606"

Or in English: "Passed by here the adelantado Don Juan de Oñate from the discovery of the Sea of the South 16 of April year 1606."

"Adelantado" was Oñate's official title at that time, and there seems to be no question that we have here the genuine original record left on the stone on his *return* trip. But the date is out one year, if we read "1606." I have no doubt that the correct date is April 16, 1605, as the journey was finished on April 25, 1605, unless all our other authorities agree in being mistaken.

[28] This note, too long to set here, will be found at the end of the chapter, p. 505. Read it before you go on to note [29]!

[29] Otherwise Marcos de Niza, Nizza, or Niça, that is, Mark of Nice, Italy, at that time in the Duchy of Savoy; he was therefore a Savoyard; his full name is unknown. He came to

tion of journey it is said that this religious, having traveled some 600 leagues to the northwest of the

America in 1531, went with Pizarro to Peru in 1532, and after some service in Nicaragua came north with Pedro de Alvarado. In 1539 he was vice-commissary in the order of St. Francis, and in 1540-43 was provincial, succeeding Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo in that high ecclesiastical office. His personal character has been handed down to us by his enemies as that of an impostor, liar, and coward: none of the which was he, but an honest, brave, and zealous priest, who, in 1539, accomplished the ever memorable discovery of Zuñi or the Seven Cities of Cibola, and thus of New Mexico—an exploit which opened the way immediately to the famous expedition of Coronado in 1540. We have his own Relacion or personal report of this pregnant feat, and many other original sources of information; which, as critically examined by modern scholars, especially Bandelier, Hodge, and Winship, enable us to set forth the man in his true light, and state with very close approximation to accuracy where he went and what he did.

Unless Fray Juan de la Asumpcion in 1538, Fray Marcos was the first white man to enter what is now Arizona, as well as the present New Mexico. But he was preceded on much of his own route by a person of different color who had been given him for his guide—a negro named Estevan, or Estevanico, native of Azamor or Asimur, on the coast of Morocco, who had before made the transcontinental journey (1528-36) with Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, and Andrés Dorantes. Black Stephen was in fact the first "white man" who ever laid eyes on a pueblo of Zuñi or Cibola; but he did so on Fray Marcos' expedition and by order of the latter. The friar was also accompanied part way by a lay brother, the Savoyard Fray Honorato, Onorato, or Norato, and some Indians.

Friar Marcos received a copy of the instructions of the

[City of] Mexico, fell upon a river so large and full of water (*caudaloso*) that it prevented his crossing; viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, at Tonala, in New Galicia, Nov. 25, 1538. We have these instructions, in Spanish, French, Italian, and English, in divers records; also Friar Marcos' own acknowledgment of their reception by him, as just said. Pursuant thereto, he left San Miguel de Culiacan, in Sinaloa, Mar. 7, 1539, with his guide Stephen, his lay brother Honorato, and the Indians. His course was by the highway northnorthwest to Rio de Petatlan, the modern Rio del Fuerte, where Fray Honorato fell sick and was left behind. Continuing the same course, approximately parallel with, but at considerable distance from, the coast, Fray Marcos crossed the Rios Mayo and Yaqui, and about the middle of April was at a place called Vacapa or Bacapa. This is specially to be noted; for the name has been confounded with a certain San Luis Beltran de Bacapa, in northwestern Sonora near the Arizona line, and thus Fray Marcos has been sent by various writers promenading in a country he never even approached, to the dire confusion of his whole route. But Bacapa was an Indian village on the headwaters of the Rio Matapa, about lat. 29°, and was at or near the modern town of Matape, in central Sonora, where the Jesuit mission of San José de Matapa was founded in 1629. It was this miserable malidentification of Bacapa, traceable back at least to Mange, Mar. 12, 1702,[1] which threw Friar Marcos' route out, altogether too far to the northwest, at the hands of many historians or commentators, who fetched him up low down on the Gila, made

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[1] At this date, when Mange was with Kino at *San Luis* de Bacapa, he indulged in the bit of historical and geographical mythology I wish to signalize as such: "Y parece es por la que pasó el ejército de Francisco Vasques Coronado el año de 1540 cuando fueron á descubrir las 7 ciudades de los llanos de Zivola, pues este nombre mismo le dá el cronista Antonio de Herrera en la de cada 4.ª descubriendo este viaje, y que dista 40 leguas del mar, y la misma distancia hallamos en ella," etc. Bacapa! One day's journey from Sonoita! *O Coronate! Quandoque qualescunque quantæcunque fabulæ de te narrantur!* It all comes from mistaking *this* Bacapa for the place on Rio Matape of the same or similar name, which happens to be about the same distance from the gulf.

(this was no doubt the Colorado—interpolation of the scholiast); and he (or it—the relation) continues, say-

him the discoverer of the Casa Grande of that river, and then spirited him to Cibola as best they could: see for example Niza's alleged but impossible route, on the map facing p. 42 of Bancroft's Hist. Ariz. and N. M.

Friar Marcos stayed some days at Bacapa, whence he dispatched Stephen ahead to reconnoiter, telling him to go north some 50 or 60 leagues and send back word of what he found. The second day after Easter Sunday he followed after, and in three days reached the Rio Sonora in the vicinity of modern Babiacora. Here was a village of Opatas, who had given Stephen his first reports of Cibola, duly sent back to the friar; Cibola was said to be 30 days' journey thence, to be the first one of seven cities; and other provinces called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac were reported. Friar Marcos followed up the Rio Sonora for a week in the wake of the negro, who appears to have been meanwhile hurrying on ahead to Cibola, thus to secure for himself the glory of discovering that kingdom of which so many wonders had been narrated—and in fact he did acquire that glory, meeting death at the same time. The friar took formal possession of the Sonora valley, and on the seventh day reached the last settlement, somewhere in the vicinity of modern Bacuachi, a little north of the better known Arizpe. Then for four days he traveled northward "en el despoblado." This term "despoblado," translated "desert," has been a fruitful source of misunderstanding regarding the route of Coronado as well as of Friar Marcos. It does not mean a desert, in a physiographic sense, but simply a deserted, depopulated, or an uninhabited place—in fine, a wilderness; the traverse of which, still northward, took the friar over from headwaters of Rio Sonora to sources of Rio Nexpa or the modern San Pedro river, on the confines of Arizona. I regard this identification as assured; those who have sent Marcos down the modern Rio ing that the Indians of this (river) informed him that at about ten days' journey to the north there was an-

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Santa Cruz, through Tucson, Florence, Phœnix, or anywhere else so far west, are certainly at fault; he was on the San Pedro, as he was also with Coronado the next year; and he went down that river, past the vicinity of Tombstone and other well-known Arizona places.

At this point in the Relacion comes up a matter which seems to have needlessly puzzled many commentators, and even caused some of them to send Fray Marcos to a supposed west coast in an impossible lat. 35°. But I find nothing in the original Spanish to require such a forcible construction of his words. I think that he does not say he *went* to see about the trend of the coast, but simply sought to learn about it (*"quiselo saber,"* he says) from hearsay; "*y asi fui en demanda dello y vi claramente*" need not mean more than that he demanded of Indians how the case was, and was given to understand clearly what they told him. At this stage of his journey he was on the Rio San Pedro, then called Nexpa, say 200 miles or more from the Gulf of California in an air line, say lat. 31° 30′ or 40′, among the Sobaipuri Indians; and he was following down the river northward.

At the last village of the Sobaipuris Friar Marcos remained three days and then plunged into the *despoblado* or wilderness, which he was told it would take him 15 days to cross, to reach Cibola. This was on the 9th of May old style, or the 19th new style. He was still traveling on the trail of the negro, which probably is not now ascertainable with entire precision, as it was "across country" and not along any recognizable water-course after the San Pedro had been left. His point of departure from this river is not fixed; but in any event his mean course was about northnortheast, across the Gila and the Salado, necessarily, and so on to Zuñi. It seems to me altogether most probable that Estevan's trail, which Friar Marcos other larger river, inhabited by much people, whose multitude they explained with fistfuls of sand; that

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followed exactly, was the same as, or scarcely differed from, that which Coronado followed, accompanied by the friar, the very next year. As lately worked out by Mr. Hodge, this route left the San Pedro in the vicinity of the present Benson; went through Dragoon and Railroad passes, as the railroad does now; reached the Gila at or near Solomonville (in which vicinity was the much mooted Chichilticalli or Red House of the Coronado relations); passed the Gila Bonito high up, and thus in the S. E. corner of the present White Mountain reservation; crossed the Salado or Salt river, believed to be the Rio de las Balsas or Raft river of the Coronado relations; and thus attained some of the headwaters of the Colorado Chiquito; whence the distance was short to the Rio Vermejo or modern Zuñi river, which appears to have been struck a few miles below the point where it crosses the present boundary between Arizona and New Mexico. Thence it was only a day's journey to the first Zuñian or Cibolan pueblo, Hawiku, about six miles east of the boundary last said.

Pursuing the route thus sketched, or one closely approximate thereto, for twelve days, which brought the friar within two or three days of his destination, on the 21st-31st of May, he was met by a fugitive from Cibola—one of the many Indians who had accompanied Estevanico thither—with the startling news that the negro had been killed by the Cibolans. Accounts of the affair differ in detail, as usual, and it is not necessary to go into them here; of the main fact there is no question. This catastrophe put an entrada into Cibola out of the question; but Friar Marcos determined not to desist without at least a view of the promised land. He was led by two of his Indians to a spot whence he sighted the nearest one of the Seven Cities of Cibola, *la qual está sentada en un llano, á la falda de un cerro redondo*—" which is situated in a plain at the skirt they had houses of three stories, and walled about (were) their pueblos, and that they went clothed and shod with antelope (skins) and mantles of cotton. My opinion is confirmed by the fundamental fact (*el fundamento grabe*) that, the river coming from the northeast with regard to the place where I acquired information thereof, there is agreement of the ten-days' journey to the river cited in the relation above mentioned. Also in the circumstances of the clothing I have grounds (*fundamento*—for my opinion),

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of a round hill." This was *not* Kiakima, as Bandelier once thought, but, as Hodge has shown, it was the Pueblo of Hawiku, Hauicu, or Havico, a mile or so from modern Zuñi Hot Springs, or Ojo Caliente. At his coign of vantage, in full view of this southwestern one of the Zuñi pueblos or Cities of Cibola, Friar Marcos erected a stone cairn with a wooden cross atop, took possession in due form of Cibola, Totonteac, Acus, and Marata, named the whole country Nuevo Reyno de San Francisco, and turned back from his great discovery "with much more fright than food" (*con harto mas temor que comida*), as he pithily says in his Relacion.

Such, in briefest outline, are the journey and discovery of Friar Marcos de Niza. There never need have been the slightest question, much less mystery, of the location of the Seven Cities of Cibola, whose identification with the Zuñian pueblos has never been entirely lost sight of, though so often disputed or denied, down to the present day. After this exploit the monk made all haste to return to Culiacan by the way he had gone then to Cibola; and by September, 1539, he had duly attested the report which he made to the proper authorities at the City of Mexico, where he died March 25, 1558.

since, besides (the fact) that all the Yabipais I have seen are dressed in antelope (skins) and the Moquinos in mantles, the Jamajabs informed me that all the people that they have to the north (of themselves) go clothed. The report of the houses and walled pueblos of which the Indians informed the Reverend Padre Fray Juan de la Asumpcion is also so conclusive that I find not any difficulty in believing it, considering that in the pueblo of Oraibe I saw houses of two or three stories, and that as, on the side where I entered in it, they had no window, they resembled walls rather than houses, as is already said in the Diary. Such is the verisimilitude which I find in the cited relation.[80]

I find also a notice of this river in the, to me, verific relation of the journey of Captain Francisco Vazquez Coronado,[81] made in the year of 1540 [and 1541] by order of the Señor Don Antonio de Mendoza.[82] I call this relation very verific, for all that it says have I seen. The pueblo of Bácápa, of which it makes mention, is found to-day by the name of Quitobaca, in Papaguera.[38] *Apa* in Pima language

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[80] This note, discussing the vexed question of *what* Relacion Garcés cites, goes over to p. 509, which see.

[81] This very long note on the Coronado expedition goes over to the end of Garcés' text, pp. 513-21, which see.

[82] The first viceroy of New Spain, born about 1485, died at Lima, Peru, July 21, 1552. He was of noble birth, son of the second Conde de Tendilla, and among his titles was that of Marqués de Mondéjar. His appointment to the viceroyalty is said to have been formally made out April 17, 1535; he entered

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Mexico at Vera Cruz about the beginning of that year, and was viceroy until November, 1549, when he was succeeded by Don Luis de Velasco. After a short interval he became viceroy of Peru, Sept. 23, 1551. He was regarded as a righteous ruler, of austere personal habits, perfect integrity, and great administrative ability.

[38] See note [illegible], p. 481, regarding the Bacapa or Vacapa of the Marcos de Niza and Coronado Relations, on the headwaters of the Rio Matape or Fuerte, near Rio Sonora. Needless to add, Garcés' Bácapa or Quitobac, in Papagueria, is a different one of the places so called, near the boundary line of southwestern Arizona, and not the central Sonoran village Garcés mistook it for. Mr. Hodge furnishes the following note regarding it:

Bacapa was a Papago rancheria in the "Papagueria" of northwestern Sonora, not far below the present Arizona boundary. It was visited in 1700 by Kino and Mange, who applied to it the name San Luis de Bacapa ("St. Ludlovic de Vacapa," "San Ludlov de Bacapa," "San Luis Beltram de Bacapa," etc., according to various citations). The saint name was retained by Anza and Font (1774), but the name of the settlement seems to have been changed to Quitobac, and later to Quitovaquito. The etymology of the names is doubtful. Both Garcés and Buelna (Geog. Indig. de Sinaloa, 1887) assert that the term contains the element *bac* or *baca*, tule, carrizo, but there is no doubt that the former erred in interpreting the prefix *quito* as a Spanish diminutive. The name Bacapa was applied by Marcos de Niza in 1539 to Matape, on a river of the same name much farther southeastward, and this has misled some students in attempting to trace the route of that friar and of Coronado the following year.—F. W. H.

means *in;* and *Bac, tule;* and the combination *Quitobac* means *en tule chiquito* ("in small tule").[24] The Rio de las Balsas which it also cites, is the Rio Colorado.[25] It says that following northward they arrived at the Alchedum nation; in this very direction I myself went to the nation that I call Jalchedum. Whatsoever this relation says of the sea has much connection with what I have seen, as in (the instance of) the small ships that are found in the Canál (de Santa Barbara), and about the smell of amber, which I also have noted on my journey, though I do not assure myself that it could be amber exactly; the same is related to me by those who have been on the Canál. The having seen, as the relation says, people with the hair crisp and others who have it straight, that also have I seen myself; and the pointing out of their land toward the west would be for the island of Santa Cruz, which lies in this direction, though the discoverers could not discern this and others of the Canal, especially in a fog, as is now also the case. The tents which that relation says they saw in the land have connection with those which I saw of sewn tule among the Cobajais, of which I make mention in the Diary. It also says that they pitched the camp (*sentaron el real*) near Moqui, and that after six days' journey they came upon the Llanos de la Zíbola,[36] which the nations that they called Baqueros inhabited. Being myself among the Yabipais nigh unto Moqui they gave me information of the Acquiora nation, whose name either is the same or bespeaks quite a hint of (*dize mucha alusion á*) Baqueros, indicating to me its habitation toward the north. The flax[37] and hemp cited in the relation as having been seen, already have I left it said in the Diary that I also met with the same; and considering that thus far I find that relation so conformable with that which I have seen and experienced, I do not hesitate to give it credence. It goes on to say that from the place where they halted in the nation of the Baqueros the soldiers set forth toward the northwest [*sic*], and having gone six days' journey descried on the border of a great river a populous city, with houses of three stories surrounded with high walls, as they could distinguish from the top of a hill close by the settlement, called Quevira, of the Ṭeguáyo nation. They may be truthful, in my humble opinion (*en mi corto entender*), both this and the other relation, and there may really exist the great river cited and the populations referred to. A part thereof has been related to me by an Apache there is in these provinces. Upon these advices, those that I have acquired of the Comanches, and the knowledge that, as I have said, the Chemeguabas and Yutas are their enemies, it appears to me that the inhabitants of that large river and of those settlements

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[24] Garcés' etymology, like his theology, will satisfy those who believe in miracles. To make *Quitobac* mean "in small reeds," he clips the Spanish adjective *chiquito*, "small," down to *'quito*, and adds *bac* from Piman to finish the word; then drawing from a different word, *Bacapa*, the *apa* for his "in." I am familiar with false etymologies of many sorts, but think I never before saw quite such a stunner as this miraculous ingenuity. See the preceding note by Mr. Hodge.

[25] I do not recognize the place in any of the numerous Relations of different portions of the Coronado expeditions where the Colorado is called Rio de las Balsas. Coronado himself was never on the Colorado, and the Rio de las Balsas of Jaramillo, who was with him on his inland march to Zuñi, Tiguex, and Quivira, is most probably the Rio Salado, in southeastern Arizona. Those of Coronado's men who were up the Colorado river to the Jalchedunes were Melchior Diaz and Hernando de Alarcon, who called the stream Rio del Tizon and Rio de la Buena Guia.

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[36] Not meaning any of the plains about Cibola (Zuñi), but the Plains of the Buffalo (*cíbola*). The Baqueros of the text, or Vaqueros, were Indians who hunted the buffalo, the term being collective, not distinctive. "Acquiora" of the text seems to stand for *Baquiopa*.

[37] Rio del Lino, or Flax river, it will be remembered, was a name of the Colorado Chiquito in Coronado's time. But our author's commentary is becoming so confused and beside the

point that it seems hardly worth pursuing. He appears to be dreaming, or writing from vague memory of traditions or relations of the Coronado period. Quivira, presently mentioned, was of course in Kansas; but it may be found on maps in almost any part of the western and southwestern United States.

are the Comanches.[38] In Tejas (qu: in Taos?) have they said that they come from afar, and that they set forth from a great river; wherefore would it be fitting that before undertaking any expedition, peace should be effected with them, when they come for the sale of their antelope skins. For the effectiveness of this expedition I consider necessary at least 80 men, well-armed and well-disciplined, with whom may go two priests; that there be taken the wherewithal to regale the Indians, and for barter awls and other trifles (*bugerias*), together with red ribbons (*encarnados listones*), for I have noticed that this is the color which best suits them; not permitting the very least (*mas minimo*) misbehavior on the part of any one of the company; and that the trade with the Indians by barter be in the presence of the chief,[39] so that there may be no cheating; and also if any one of the expedition do a wrong thing, let him be punished right before the gentiles themselves, in order to give them satisfaction. To this advice am I bound by the loud complaints made to me by the Noches and Quabajais Indians, as I said in the Diary. If successful be the attempt to possess this river perhaps will it be possible to descend thereby to the Tulares, and through these in small boats to San Francisco, which would be of great avail for the commerce even of China,[40] whose ship, arriving at San Francisco, could take its goods by way of the Puerto Dulze[41] and Tulares to the disemboguement of said great river, and by this upward for New Mexico. Supplying in this manner the missions of the interior with the commerce of China by way of this river, and that of Spain by that of the Missisipi, then could happy be these Provincias Internas.[42]

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[38] A tribe of the Shoshonean stock, occupying the southern plains region, especially of Texas and Indian Territory within historic times (since about 1700), but there is good traditionary evidence that previously their habitat was more generally confined to the north and northwest. They call themselves *N'em* or *Néme*, are the Padoucas of the early French, and the Aliatans, Iatans, Ietans, etc., of other writers. Their popular designation, Comanche, is believed to be of Mexican origin. They are now gathered on the Kiowa and Comanche reservation in Oklahoma, where they numbered 1,526 in 1897. They were formerly regarded as one of the most warlike tribes of the plains, their raids extending far into the north and southward as far as Durango, Mexico.—F. W. H.

[39] *Gefe*—the first instance of the use of this term in our MS.

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[40] Referring to the Spanish galleon that came each year from Manila of the Philippines by way of Cape Horn to Spain, and was required by royal reglamento to touch at some Californian port. The scholiast notes in the margin, "Projecto de comercio de Manila con el Nuevo Mexico."

[41] The Bay of San Francisco was sometimes called Puerto Dulze; and it would appear from the context that the "great river" which Garcés had in mind was the San Joaquin, of which he had acquired some notion when he was in the Tulares.

[42] The dreamer in his cell at Tubutama was conceiving in the womb of imagination that transcontinental traffic to the realiza-

POINT VIII.

On the Equipment of the Missions.

Since the first time that I was at San Gabriel, and saw the neediness of those missions, I have been pondering the means there may be to equip those of the Rio Colorado, when these shall come to be founded and the presidio that is proposed, inasmuch as always have I found difficulty enough. Leaving now to whomsoever may undertake to do it, to think up a better plan, I will speak my mind.[48] By sea and by land I find that these establishments can be equipped, the country being pacified as I expect it to be, in view of the special providences which give themselves to this end. The route may be that which I indicated above: from Chihuahua to Janos, San Bernardino, Santa Cruz, Rio Gila, thence down river to the Yumas, if not to the [proposed] Presidio de la Asumpcion and to the Rio de Santa Maria down to the Colorado. But, considering that this road, taken from [the city of] Mexico, is of more than of 600 leagues; that there are

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tion of which those times, pregnant though they were with possibility, had not yet quickened.

[48] "Dejando aora á quien toca hazerlo el pensar lo mejor diré mi dictamen"—let he who may devise better means, nevertheless I will give my opinion.

encountered some difficulties thereon; that there may occur in the future some disturbance among the intermediate nations; and lastly (considering) the very great expense necessarily incurred (*que ha de tener*) in equipping missions and presidios by this route; I have pondered the other (way) by sea. This may be either by the Golfo de Californias or by the Mar del Sur[44] and Puerto de San Diego. By the Golfo de Californias it could be made in one small vessel with oars and sail, at the times when it has already been observed that this sea is less raging. If it were found possible to take the vessel up river to the Yumas, it would be a very great convenience, for she could unload at the very presidio and missions; and when this should not be practicable, founding a mission among the Cucapá will avail to unload the bark in some one of the creeks or coves of that shore, and thence to take all the cargo on pack-animals up to the presidio and missions. That the bark may be small does not appear to me to be a hindrance to equipping all the missions, for these in a few years from their foundation will not need provisions, but only clothing, *panocha*,[45] etc., which will not be difficult to trans-port, however small may be the bark. And if in this (plan) there be found inconveniences, it can be ordered that the barks which equip the establishments of Monte-Rey take also the supplies for the presidio and missions of the Colorado as far as the Puerto de San Diego, and here let there be a storehouse in which to keep them in order to carry them afterward on pack-animals by land. For this (purpose) it would appear fitting that the detachment of troops at San Diego should be under the orders of (*sujeto á*) the comandante or captain of the Rio Colorado; in which (plan) would be found many expediencies: The 1st, in that, this detachment being more contiguous to the Rio Colorado than to Monte-Rey, it would be able to give aid more promptly in case of necessity. The 2d, in that, the road from San Diego to the Rio Colorado being safer than that from Monte-Rey, and having missions founded on this river, controlled are all the intermediate nations. The 3d, in that, in view of this arrangement, the soldiers not having to pass from San Diego to Monte-Rey with so great frequency

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[44] Mar del Sur: the Pacific ocean was so called; and so, sometimes, was the Gulf of California.

[45] *Panocha* is not a frequent synonym of *azucar*, but it means a coarse sugar of native manufacture, almost necessary in any In-

dian establishment, and one which would of course have to be imported at first. The sense of the whole passage is clear: the proposed missions would be self-supporting in a few years, so far as commissary supplies were concerned, and would only require to be furnished with *panocha*, clothing, and other articles coming under the head of quartermaster stores, all of which could be brought in a comparatively small vessel.

as heretofore, there will be prevented complaints and disgusts among the Indians of the Canal. The 4th, in that, by this means and with greater facility can that detachment be furnished with provisions when it is found necessary, by the same pack-trains which bring the supplies [to San Diego]. For all these reasons it seems to me to be fitting, in case this method of equipment (by land) be adopted, that the detachment at San Diego be under the orders of the comandante of the Rio Colorado; for otherwise (*y de lo contrario*) there might arise many differences between the two chiefs (*gefes*), which would work great disadvantage to both establishments. These missions having their equipment by way of San Diego, there is avoided also the set-back that might be given in case of insurrection or impediment of right of way on the part of the nations that there are on the route by land above indicated; which they could not obstruct, conveyance being by sea; and for this reason also is the support (of the mission) by way of the South Sea to be preferred.[48]

In view of that which the first Españoles did; of that which the next ones left undone; and of that which is now beginning to be done; I cannot do less than thank God. The first Españoles commenced to catechise in Sinaloa, and made discoveries unto the coast of the sea at the Canal, in connection with the settlements that they called Quevíra[47]—those which some of their successors held to be supposititious (*por supuestas*) but which in these times seem to us proba-

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[48] Y con esto se le dá tambien este fomento mas á la Marina del Sur—a phrase which requires to be paraphrased in English. Garcés had, as is seen, a bold plan, involving some very radical

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measures, for his much-desired Coloradan missions and presidio—in fact, he wished them to take precedence over those already established at San Diego, for the reasons that he gives, among which was the avoidance of friction between the commanding officers of the two establishments. He would make San Diego a mere entrepot, tributary to the foundations upon the Colorado, and for this among other reasons favored the supplying of the latter by way of the seacoast. We have already seen, in the Biography of Garcés with which this work opens, how the Colorado missions were established overland from Sonora; how brief, precarious, and finally disastrous was their existence; and how the relief that was sent to them from the seacoast failed of its purpose, appearing upon the scene only to increase the number of victims of the massacre.

[47] The actual Quivira of Coronado, as we see on p. 520, was somewhere in central Kansas; but with the lapse of time it shifted in myths and on maps all over western and southwestern United States, even to the Pacific coast of California—its position in the mind of Garcés when he penned the above. The most definite and persistent of all these traditions or legends was that which malidentified Coronado's Quivira with the Piro pueblo of Tabirá, in New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande. This was a pueblo abandoned on account of Apache depredations about 1675, whose ruins long bore and still bear the name of Gran Quivira. How the mythical Quivira "has

ble (*se nos hasen provables*), since in view of the houses of Moqui there is no reason to deny the others. I see that for a century has the faith been planted in these provinces, and that nothing prospered in those most propitious times when there were no enemies, and when his Majesty had no other expenses on these frontiers than the Presidio de Janos. For the Españoles having lapsed (*decaydo*) from that primal fervor of conquest of souls for God and of provinces for their sovereign, when was alluring them the man-

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come to Tabirá to stay" may be read in the strenuous language of Lummis' The Cities that were Forgotten, Scribner's Mag., Apr., 1893, pp. 466-477, and eke in Bandelier's two articles on Quivira in The Nation, N. Y., Oct. 31 and Nov. 7, 1889. Such a wrong view of the case was doubtless favored by the mere similarity of the names Tabira and Quivira; it was taken by Lieut. J. W. Abert, in his Report of 1846-47, 30th Congr., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. No. 41, 8vo, Washington, 1848, p. 487, *seq.*, and after him by many other writers. Among these was so deservedly high an authority as Albert Gallatin, whose articles on the Ancient Semicivilization of New Mexico, in Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc., ii, 1848, set an example followed by many other authors of equal or less repute, as Squire, Schoolcraft, W. W. H. Davis, etc. In fact the curious error flourished as an almost undisputed fact till 1869, when J. H. Simpson, the most judicious and reasonable writer upon Coronado up to that time, let a new light into the former fog; and even since then—to say nothing of times since Bandelier and Lummis proved the identity of Gran Quivira with Tabirá—the ancient myth has never lacked believers among the credulous and the uncritical.

ageability of so many vicinities, I persuade myself that God permitted to infuriate itself more and more every day the Apache nation, until not only was pursuit impeded and rendered impracticable, but also were devastated our lands, we becoming obliged to spend immense sums in war defensive, and therein to sacrifice many lives. If that which has been expended in contending against the Apache from the beginning of his hostilities, or better say since God took him for an instrument to punish our sins, had been employed in new establishments, where would not now be raised the standard of the holy cross? In how many provinces as yet unknown would not now be obeyed the name of the catholic monarch? Thank God that it seems that in our times revives that antique Spanish spirit of discovering and possessing new lands, sacrificing in this enterprise lives and moneys for the acquisition of the precious pearls that are souls.[48] Within a short time (*en brebes dias*) have we seen discovered anew the coasts of the Mar del Sur to the far-famed and never-so-well praised Puerto de San Francisco, where there is rendered already worship to the great God, and this is pushed with sacred intrepidity still further up the coast. I see the grand providences which have given and still give themselves to the end that we may be able to penetrate further inland (*internar mas*). I believe firmly that God must help us and that he must domesticate the nations most ferocious, if we oblige him, aggregating to his church so many thousands of souls as I say in the Diary are available for that purpose (*dispuestas para haserlo*), and who are awaiting us with open arms. When I have heard tell that the king our lord, in his royal cédulas of the new reglamento, expresses himself in these or some such words: "As one of the things that most occupy my royal attention is the conversion of the gentiles, I command to my viceroy that he give me notice if there be any nation or nations who wish to flock (*agregar*) to our religion"—I say, that when I have heard these expressions I have persuaded myself that his majesty must have (*ha de tener*) an especial complacency at the sight of so many as I enumerate in this Diary, who, having been questioned and examined in this particular, have manifested desires to receive the catechism, and to submit themselves to his royal dominion; as also do I persuade myself that the desires which his majesty manifests will be carried into effect, even though for this it may be necessary to increase the royal costs. All of us who have the good fortune to be vassals of such a great king have learned his royal disposition to desire rather souls for God than moneys for his exchequer; inasmuch as there is no doubt it will redound to his greater glory in this world and in the other, opening the gates of heaven to so many souls, even though there remain few millions in the royal coffers. I conclude with lively hope thus: The king our lord wills. The king our lord is able. Soon the king our lord will do that which is at once so sacred and suitable a thing. Amen.

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[48] This sentence is translatable almost word for word from the original: "Alabo á Dios por que pareze que en nuestros tiempos resucita aquel antiguo espiritu Español de descubrir y poseér nuebas tierras sacrificando á este empresa vidas y caudales por el logro de las preciosas Margaritas que son las Almas." Our good friend and fervid missionary is waxing eloquent as he approaches the professional peroration of these reflections on his Diary.

I protest that in all which I say in the Diary and in the Reflections thereupon nothing else moves me but the glory and honor of God, nor do I intend to prejudice the opinion of any one. I have told with Christian candor what I have learned, communicating without invidiousness what I have seen, heard, and experienced, which perhaps may serve to throw some light upon the decisions which the superior government may wish to make. Well do I recognize that my shortcomings, and the many faults and errors that I have committed in this and other entradas that I have made into gentiledom may be in part or perhaps altogether such as never have been seen hitherto; but I have consolation that the way is open to be able to enter to reap the harvest, and that if it be not gathered now it will be simply because no laborers are sent.

In this Diary will be found many defects, but I confess that all are unavoidable (*por no alcanzar mas*). If there be found any discrepancy between the Diary and the map in number of leagues, points of the compass, and observations for latitude, I advise that always must the map prevail; for it has been drawn since the Diary was written, and pains have been taken to make some corrections, though none of much consequence, and for this purpose the map was made in my presence. The figures which were promised to be put upon it to show each day's journey have since been omitted, there being so many.—Tubutáma and January 3 of 1777.—Fray Francisco Garzes [*sic*].

[*Postscript, manu aliena.**]

As a result of all this, and of the expeditions of Captain Don Juan Bautista de Ansa to Monterrey and San Francisco, it was determined to put a presidio and mission on the Rio Colorado under the auspices of the Yuma Captain Salbador Palma, who was pre-

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*This postscript or addendum is in another handwriting, which is the same as that of the scholiast who makes his marginalia *passim* throughout the Diary. It is without heading, and is in fact nothing more than the annotator's final note. Fortunately it is dated and signed in autograph, and tells us who Miguel Valero Olea was. Also, the date of Aug. 4, 1785,

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gives us approximately the date of the whole transcription of Garcés' Diary; for Garcés says that he finished writing it on January 3, 1777, and the transcription was necessarily made between the two dates here in mention—1777-1785.

For the matter of which this postscript speaks, refer to what is said of Palma and the Yuma massacre in the Biography of Garcés, *antea*, p. 21 *seq.*; and to other mention of Palma in the Diary, as at p. 155. I will amplify the curious memorandum which I happened upon in the Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, 1st series, vol. i, pub. Mexico, 1854, which includes among other things an article entitled: Diario Curióso de Mexico de D. José Gomez, Cabo de Alabarderos. On p. 11 of this Diary we read:

"El dia 4 de Noviembre de 1776 en México, en el real palacio, el Sr. virey D. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Urzua dió el baston de capitan á un *indio meco*, y por bien le hizo poner un vestido de uniforme azul con veulta encarnada, la chupa galoneada de oro: este indio se llamaba el *capitan Palma*, no tenia otro nombre porque no era cristiano: no se sabe cuándo se bautizará: y fué en lunes el dia de San Cárlos." And again, p. 17: "El dia 13 de Febrero de 1777 en México, en el Sagrario de la santa iglesia, se bautizaron cinco indios mecos, y entre ellos uno que era el capitan Palma, y les pusieron los nombres de Cárlos, y fué su padrino . . . y fué en jueves." That is to say, p. 11: "on Nov. 4, 1776, at Mexico, in the royal palace, Viceroy Bucareli gave a captain's baton to a wild Indian, and kindly clothed him in a blue uniform with red facings and gold-laced waistcoat; this Indian was named Captain Palma, having no other name because he was not a Christian; it is not known when he will be baptized; this was on Monday, the day of San Carlos." And p. 17: "On Feb 13, 1777, at Mexico, in the sacristy of the holy church, were baptized five wild Indians, among whom was Captending (*afectaba*) to be christianized with his nation and others adjacent. In order the better to win him over and confirm him in acknowledgment of the king, he was brought to Mexico, with three or four of his relatives. They lived in a house on Calle de la Merced with Captain Ansa; they were catechised, clothed, regaled, and distinguished as far as possible; whereof I am an unexceptionable witness (*testigo de excepcion*), because, being a clerk of the viceroyal secretary's office (*dependiente de la secretaria del virreynato*), all such matters were under my charge; and they went home very proud (*vfanos*).

Perhaps, if the presidio had been well garrisoned (*puesto numeroso*) and put under the conditions recommended in this Diary by the venerable Padre Fray Francisco Garces, those conquests would have prospered and the gospel would have found itself propagated among other nations; and he would not have fallen a victim to those revolts, with the other padres and the soldiers—for whilst they were living in the most profound confidence, both mission and presidio perished one day [Tuesday, July 17, 1781], when they were coming from the mass, and for that reason were defenseless; as is confirmed by the evidence that they were all killed with sticks and stones, which were the

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tain Palma, and they were given the name of Carlos; I stood sponsor; . . . this was on Thursday."

only weapons of those apostates and gentiles, who spared only the women.

Of all of which will be given a better account in due *time* (*quando se hable de proposito*).

[Signed] MIGUEL VALERO OLEA.

This 4 of August of 1785.

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[*] Mention of this Franciscan friar, Fray Juan de la Asumpcion, raises a notable question which never has been and perhaps never will be answered satisfactorily. The person in mention, also known as Juan de la Asuncion, or Juan de Olmeda, is said to have entered Arizona in 1538, before September of that year, with another friar named Pedro Nadal. If this be the fact, they were the discoverers of Arizona, about a year before the negro Estevan and Friar Marcos de Niza made their celebrated entrada of 1539. The whole question will be found exhaustively discussed, in the light of all known original documents bearing upon it, by A. F. Bandelier, in his Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States, published in connection with the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition, in Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American Series, vol. v, 8vo, Cambridge, 1890, pp. 84-105. Some of the testimony that Bandelier presents may be here summarized. After showing that the reports of the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, contain nothing to the point about Friar Juan's supposed operations of 1538, though much about Friar Marcos, Bandelier first adduces the evidence of Fray Toribio de Paredes, better known as Motolinia, regarding explorations made in 1538. It appears in his Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España (Coll. Doc. para Hist. Mex., by J. G. Icazbalceta, 1858, vol. i, tratado iii, cap. v. p. 171), that in 1538 the Provincial Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo sent two friars, names not given, on a journey, some de-

tails of which seem to indicate the entrada we have now in question, while others recall Fray Marcos' of 1539. "But in the very year Motolinia wrote," says Bandelier, "Fray Marcos was Provincial of the order, consequently his immediate superior, and Fray Toribio would not have failed to state that his provincial had made the discovery, provided he meant to allude to the journey of Fray Marcos, and not to another expedition previous to it executed by another less prominent monk of Saint Francis," etc. Fifty-six years later, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta gives in his Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana an account which, Bandelier thinks, for the most part looks suspiciously like a copy of Motolinia, but with certain additional data, "so that all tends to indicate that the journey of 1538, if performed by some monk whose position was rather inferior at the time, succeeded in reaching Southern Arizona. We should then have a discovery of Arizona one year previous to that of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza" (p. 91).

Bandelier finds no more to the point regarding this supposed expedition of 1538 in any one of the official documents at his command, from the sixteenth century until the eighteenth; in writers of which last there "are not only detailed references to the problematical journey of 1538, but many details not revealed by writers of the sixteenth, and, lastly, the *names* of the two friars who made the journey. The first such author whom Bandelier cites is Captain Juan Mateo Mange (the same whom we have seen as the companion and itinerist of Father Kino's entradas), in a document of date 1720, entitled Luz de Tierra Incognita, etc. Here Mange states distinctly that in 1538 Friar Marcos dispatched "Fray Juan de la Asumpcion and a lay brother," who passed through Culiacan, etc.; that the lay brother was taken sick, and left behind; that the other friar continued his journey 600 leagues to the northwest of Mexico, etc.—in fine, giving an account of a journey quite like that which Garcés is about to signalize in his text, p. 479. The duration of the journey is put at nine months by Mange; and as we are told by Arricivita (see beyond) that it began in January, it seems to have ended in September, 1538. As Bandelier remarks, the name of the priest, Juan de la Asumpcion, can hardly have been invented, though he found no Franciscan of that name on the lists of the 16th century: "the whole looks genuine, it agrees fairly well with the older reports, and yet is sufficiently distinct from those of Friar Marcos to suggest that it refers to independent facts and occurrences. But the author fails to give his sources, and this we can but deeply regret" (p. 97).

The next authority adduced by Bandelier is Matias de la Mota-Padilla, whose Historia de Nueva Galicia was written in 1742. "The version of Mota-Padilla differs again from all others, in that it gives the name of the priest as Fray Juan de Olmeda: 'This information was given by one of the ecclesiastics, called Fray Juan de Olmeda, to Father Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, who sent it, through him, to the Venerable F. Fray Marcos of Nizza, Commissary General, who was of such a fiery spirit that he set out on foot and without shoes on the journey, taking the said Father Olmeda with him. And having reconnoitered the provinces of Marata, Acus, and Totonteac, and obtained information concerning the province of Tzibola, he found it advisable to return to Mexico to give a detailed account to the Viceroy.' Fray Marcos was Vice Commissary General in 1538. His companion on the journey was not Fray Olmeda, but a Savoyard lay brother called Fray Honorato. I cannot find as yet any trace of that Fray Olmeda in the sources at my disposition, as little as of Fray de la Asuncion, and yet neither of these names can have been invented by those who mentioned them" (p. 98).

This brings Bandelier to consider what our own author, Garcés, has to say on the subject: see my next note [*], p. 509.

After Garcés, the only mention of the supposed expedition of 1538 adduced by Bandelier from the eighteenth century is that given in Arricivita's Crónica Seráfica, 1792. Turning to the Prólogo of this work, I read as follows: "El año de quinientos

treinta y ocho por Enero salieron de México, por órden del Señor Virrey, los Padres Fr. Juan de la Asuncion, y Fr. Pedro Nadal; y caminando al Norueste como seiscientas leguas, llegaron á un Rio muy caudaloso que no pudieron pasar; y el Padre Nadal, que era muy inteligente en las Matemáticas, observó la altura del Polo en treinta y cinco grados. El siguiente año de treinta y nueve entró con otros tres Religiosos el Padre Fr. Marcos de Niza en la expedicion Militar; y caminando al Norte, llegaron al dicho Rio, que llamaron de las Balsas, y es el que hoy llaman Colorado, y tomada la altura se halló en treinta y quatro grados y medio, confirmando la identidad del Rio," etc. Or, in English: "In January, 1538, there started from Mexico, by order of the viceroy, Fathers Juan de la Asuncion and Pedro Nadal; and traveling northwest about 600 leagues they reached a river very full of water which they could not cross, and Father Nadal, who was versed in mathematics, observed the altitude of the pole in 35°. The next year of 1539 there entered with three other religious Father Fray Marcos de Niza on the military expedition [Coronado's], and travelling north reached the said river, which they called River of Rafts, and the altitude being taken it was found in 34° 30′, confirming the identity of the river," etc. The only weight that I am myself inclined to allow this passage in Arricivita is the bare fact that there *was* an expedition in 1538 by the two friars named; for certainly they never reached either 35° or 34° 30′; certainly Coronado's expedition was *not* in 1539, but in 1540; and also, Rio de las Balsas was *not* the Colorado, but was no doubt the Rio Salado.

Returning once more to Bandelier's admirable essay, we find him summing the case in the following terms (p. 101): "I frankly confess, that, while all the evidence presented above does not come up to the requirements of historical certainty, and while I should not be surprised or disappointed if subsequently proof were furnished that the story originated through a confusion with the reports of Fray Marcos, the present condition of the case leads me to believe that the journey was really made, that Fray Juan de la Asuncion was the man who performed it, and that he reached as far north as the Lower Gila, and perhaps the lower course of the Colorado of the West; and that consequently there was a discovery of Southern Arizona one year previous to that of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza.

"The principal objection lies in the fact that the Viceroy makes no mention of the journey in his letter quoted by me. But we must not lose sight of the fact that he mentions other communications to the Emperor, the text of which I have not, and in which he says that he had sent 'two members of the order of Saint Francis to discover the cape of the mainland that runs in the direction of the north.' This passage may refer to Fray Marcos and his companion, but it may also allude to two other monks. Furthermore, if we compare the statement of Arricivita, that the monks left Mexico in January, 1538, and the statement of Mange, that the trip lasted nine months, with the time of departure of Fray Marcos on his journey to the north, we notice that the latter left only after the two monks are supposed to have returned. At the end of November, 1538, Fray Marcos was already in New Galicia, and the others are supposed to have returned in October."

It only remains for me to add that the foregoing represents nearly or quite all the known original data on the subject; and that the modern writing upon this case, having nothing to add to our information, is merely compilation or expression of opinion on these sources.

[*] Whose or what Relacion Garcés has thus cited is unknown, or at least uncertain. As the above text is obliquely constructed, for the most part, yet without due indication of what clauses are quoted and what are Garcés' own, it offers some difficulty of translation. I will therefore first give the Spanish, exactly as it stands, in order that my translation may be com-

pared therewith, and any error I may have made be detected. Beginning immediately after mention of Nisa, in the last line of our p. 479, the text continues:

"en cuya relacion de viage se dize que haviendo caminado este Religioso [*i. e.*, Juan de la Asumpcion] como 600. leguas al Noroeste de Mexico llegó a un Rio tan grande y caudaloso que le impidió el paso [fue sin duda el Colorado—interlineation of the scholiast]; y prosigue diciendo que los Indios de este le informaron que como a diez jornadas al Norte habia otro mayor Rio, poblado de mucha Gente cuya multitud explicaron con puños de arena; que tenian Casas de tres altos, y amurallados sus Pueblos y que andaban bestidos y calzados de gamuza y mantas de algodon. Confirma mi pensamiento el fundamento grabe de que viniendo este Rio del Nordeste respecto del Parage donde adquiri noticia del corresponden las diez jornadas hasta el Rio que cita la Relacion arriba expresada. Tambien en la circunstancia del bestido tengo fundamento pues á mas de que todos los Yabipais he visto que se visten de gamuza y los Moquinos de mantas; me informaron los Jamajabs que todas las Gentes que ellos tienen al Norte andan bestidas; conviene tambien en la noticia de las Casas y Pueblos amurallados de que los Indios informaron al R. P. Fr. Juan de la Asumpcion en lo que no hallo dificultad alguna para creerlo respecto de que en el Pueblo de Oraibe vi Casas de dos ó tres altos, y por la parte que entré en el, en la que no tenian ventana alguna mas parecian murallas que Casas. Asi lo dexo dicho en el Diario. Esta es la verosimilitud que hallo en las noticias de la citada relacion."

What with peculiarity of punctuation and involution of construction the foregoing is not easy to turn into word-for-word English; but the sense is plain, and I regard this whole passage as of prime importance in its bearing upon the question of Juan de la Asumpcion's entrada. For it would seem to be almost conclusive evidence that such an entrada was actually made into Arizona in 1538. The same view of the case is taken by Bandelier, in the work already cited, where the author writes as follows, pp. 98-100:

"Still more attention is due to the testimony of Father Francisco Garcés, of the College of the Propaganda Fide of Querétaro, who in the years 1775 and 1776 performed the remarkable journey from Southern Arizona to the Moquis alone. In this report he states:

"'This river is doubtless the one of which, in the year 1538, they gave information to the R. F. [*sic*] Fray Juan de la Asuncion, when he came into the country by the way of Sinaloa, by order of the R. F. [*sic*] Nisa, in whose report it is said that, having travelled six hundred leagues to the northwest of Mexico, he reached a river so large that it impeded his passage; and he adds, that the Indians of this river told him that ten days' journey to the north there was another, settled by many people, the numbers of whom they indicated by handfuls of sand, that they had houses of three stories, that their villages were walled in, and the people clothed and shod with buckskin and cotton mantles.'"

Bandelier, in the above paragraph, translates not from my MS., but from the published version of Garcés. As the matter is intrinsically interesting, I will transcribe the Spanish text of the pub. Doc. pp. 364-65, for comparison of the two texts. It will be observed that the following is to the identical purport of my own MS., yet differs much in the wording:

"Tambien este rio es sin duda del que en el año de 1538, le dieron noticia al R. P. Fr. Juan de Asuncion quando entró por Sinaloa, por mandado del R. P. Nisa, en cuya relacion se dice: 'Que caminadas 600 leguas al norueste de México, llegó á un rio tan grande que le impidió el paso, y añade, que los indios de este rio le dijeron que diez jornadas al norte habia otro mayor poblado de mucho gentio, cuya multitud esplicaban con puños de arena; que tenian casas de tres altos, que sus pueblos estaban amurallados y que andaban vestidos y calzados de gamuza y mantas de algodon.' Mi pensamiento se funda en que viniendo este rio del nordeste, corresponde, segun mi dieron noticia, las diez jornadas cabales hasta el rio Colorado, que fué el grande que detuvo al padre y donde le dieron la noticia. Fúndome tambien en la circunstancia de los vestidos, pues á mas de las naciones que he visto con gamuzas y mantas, me dijeron los jamajabs, que todas las del norte andan vestidas. Las casas y pueblos amurallados se hacen creibles en vista del Moqui en donde las casas tienen dos y tres altos, y por la parte de mi entrada, sin puertas ni ventana alguna, mas que casas parecian murallas; tengo, pues, por verosimiles las noticias de la relacion citada."

But *whose* relation is it that Garcés thus cites, comments upon, and credits? That is the question we cannot answer. Bandelier, calling special attention to the fact that Garcés uses quotation marks, and has therefore some original relation before him, goes on to conclude: "It cannot have been the *Relacion* of Fray Marcos which we have, for that document contains nothing of the kind. It must therefore be either the other report of that friar mentioned by him as having been written, or else a report of Fray Juan de la Asuncion, or one written by Father Marcos in the former's name and behalf. I regard the testimony of Father Garcés as almost conclusive on this point." I agree with Bandelier that Garcés' testimony is conclusive to the fact that there was someone's Relacion to be cited; but unluckily, the construction of the sentence in which the words "en cuya relacion" occur leaves it entirely ambiguous.

Again, *what* river did Juan de la Asumpcion reach, so large that it impeded his passage, and what was the still larger river ten days further on, inhabited by numerous people clothed in cotton and living in walled pueblos? I see no possibility of settling the case satisfactorily. If we suppose the friar to have reached the Gila, at a time when it ran water enough to impede his passage, a still larger river to the north would be the Salado or Salt river; but that would not be ten days off, nor inhabited in 1538 by numerous people in walled pueblos, etc. Again, supposing the friar on either the Gila or the Salt, and the larger river beyond to be the Colorado, it could not be reached in going ten days northward, nor on it would be found the required populace. Turn and twist the data as we may, we find insuperable difficulties in adjusting them with known facts of geography and ethnology. I believe Juan de la Asumpcion to have entered Arizona in 1538; I suppose him to have reached the Gila; and the rest of the Relacion seems simply a confused account of the Colorado and of the Zuñi or Moqui pueblos, thus erroneously brought together.

[illegible] Coronado's march from Culiacan to Kansas is a singular climax of fame and futility. Perhaps no other expedition of equal extent, which discovered so much, was ever so barren of immediate results. It led to nothing but chagrin in Coronado's own time, and speedily lapsed from effect upon current affairs. Years afterward, all that it had accomplished acquired the aspect of a feverish dream, and needed to be done over again by different men, under different circumstances, and in a new light, to be carried into any actual effect. By the time that this was done, the actual annals of Coronado's exploitation had been thrown out of sober historical focus into the blurred chromatics of tradition, and become incrusted with myth—hardly anything was too fabulous to be acceptable as fact in the legends of Coronado's cometary orbit. Time passed; three centuries had their day during Coronado's aphelion, so to speak, and the whole subject acquired a shroud of mystery, which antiquarian curiosity inspected to little real purpose; for where Coronado went and what he did became the worn-out toys of would-be commentators, who juggled as they pleased with the actual sources of information on the subject. It is only within the last half century that Coronado's march has swung slowly into historical perihelion, the swathing has been stripped from this benighted mummy, and the forgotten or misinterpreted facts in the case have been recovered and interpreted aright in the critical light of modern methods of historical research.

Yet it must not be assumed that when competent scholars had brought about this consummation the myths in the matter ceased to be current. They are in full swing to-day, at the hands of ignorant, slovenly, or willfully perverse writers. For example, there is not to be found in all the 300 years of tinkering at tradition a more mythical narration than that given by F. S. Dellenbaugh as "The True Route of Coronado's March," in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, New York, Dec., 1897. This is not simply erroneous—it is preposterous—a sort of crazy-quilt thrown over the whole affair, only to be matched by the quisquillious scribblings of an Inman.

Turning away from all such matters, whose name is legion, we may note some points of serious concern. One of the first writers of modern note in this case is James Hervey Simpson, a distinguished engineer officer of the United States Army, whose article entitled "Coronado's March in Search of the 'Seven Cities of Cibola' and Discussion of their Probable Location" occupies the Smithsonian Report for 1869, pp. 309-340, map. Simpson simply let daylight into the subject by using a little common sense and much personal knowledge of the country; he is not right in every particular, but he came so near laying out Coronado's route that I would advise any one to approach the subject by *first* reading what Simpson had to say about it. He found Cibola at Zuñi (as Espejo did in 1583!); he found Tiguex on the Rio Grande near the Rio Puerco; he found Cicuye at Pecos; he found Quivira in Kansas. In all of which main points he was right, and in many lesser points he was so nearly right that it is a marvel, considering that he wrote before such critical methods as Bandelier later used had ever been applied to the elucidation of early Spanish history of the southwestern United States. Simpson's main errors were committed on the plains of Texas and thenceforward, in consequence of taking Jaramillo at his word regarding a certain "northeast" course, instead of which Jaramillo meant to say "southeast"; in not sending Coronado along the left bank of the Arkansaw river where it flows northeast to present Great Bend, Barton county, Kansas; and (as I think) in putting Coronado finally too far north in Kansas—quite up to lat. 40°, or the border of Nebraska. Yet Simpson's route will stand forever as the closest approximation ever made down to 1869; for what has since been done in the case amounts to little more than readjustment of Simpson in some particulars, and addition of many other details.

After Simpson, Bandelier by all means. His story of Cibola may be conveniently read in the book called The Gilded Man, N. Y., 1893, pp. 111-192. This is occupied with Coronado in Arizona and New Mexico, not going abroad with the explorer on the boundless plains of Texas; and in other writings, in which this painstaking, learned, and critical author deals with Coronado on the plains, he seems to me to have been less felicitous in his conclusions.

It was not until May, 1897, when the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1896 appeared, that the original sources of information regarding Coronado's march were brought together and set forth with anything like desirable completeness, as was done by George Parker Winship in the monograph entitled: "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-42," occupying pp. 329-613, with maps and other plates. This is altogether the most notable contribution ever made to Coronal history, dealing not only with the main expedition of the great explorer, but with collateral matters for twenty years, 1527-1547. The body of Mr. Winship's article is occupied with the Spanish text and an English translation of Castañeda—the former published for the first time, the latter original with Mr. Winship. For it is a curious fact that Castañeda's narrative, the principal source of information on the whole subject, had never before appeared in Spanish, having been chiefly known in the faulty French translation printed by Henri Ternaux-Compans in 1838, in the ninth volume of his collection known as Voyages, etc., Paris, 1837-41. The Spanish MS. used by both of these editors is a copy of the lost original, completed at Seville, Oct. 26, 1596, and is now in the Lenox Library of New York. The title is: "Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola conpuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera. Donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados y ritos, y costumbres, la qual fue el Año de 1540." The Lenox MS. is here printed verbatim, or as nearly so as it could be deciphered, and as just said is followed by Mr. Winship's very painstaking English translation. Castañeda makes a mighty good story-teller, a bad historian, a worse geographer, and a jaundiced critic of the affair in which he took part; he also wrote from memory some twenty years after the event; but he is altogether the most circumstantial, if not the most reliable, authority we possess. How extensive is this contribution may be inferred from the fact that with its English translation it runs pp. 414-546 of Mr. Winship's monograph. The Castañeda matter is preceded by the editor's historical introduction, which treats of the causes of the Coronado expedition, 1528-39; the expedition itself; and various collateral subjects. The Castañeda relation is followed by various translations: the letter from Viceroy Mendoza to the King of Spain, Apr. 17, 1540; letter from Coronado to Mendoza, Aug. 3, 1540; the anonymous Traslado de las Nuevas, from Pacheco y Cárdenas, Doc. de Indias, xix, p. 529, originally of date 1540; both Spanish text and a translation of the Relación Postrera de Sívola, apparently a transcript of letters written from Tiguex in 1541; the anonymous Relacion del Suceso; letter from Coronado to the king, Oct. 20, 1541; the Narrative of Jaramillo; report of Hernando de Alvarado; certain other testimony, abridged from depositions as printed in Pacheco y Cárdenas; and finally, an extensive annotated bibliography of the whole subject. The work is thus a historical study of the greatest possible interest and value, of which the author has acquitted himself in a scholarly manner.

Regarding the actual route of Coronado, the above-mentioned narrative of Jaramillo I think more important and less unsatisfactory than Castañeda's—I can follow it better myself, and am not without experience in such an undertaking. Jaramillo, like the other man, wrote from memory after the event; but he had a better eye for topography, or remembered the lay of the land better than Castañeda; and therefore I set him over all other chroniclers of the expedition as its prime itinerist. There are also points about the anonymous Relacion del Suceso of special importance to the recovery of Coronado's actual route; and this brings up the particular matter to which I wish to devote the remainder of this inadequate note.

Winship says, p. 398, that "the two texts of the Relacion del Suceso differ on a vital point; but in spite of this fact I am inclined to accept the evidence of this anonymous document as the most reliable testimony concerning the direction of the army's march" (where it was out on the plains of Texas and beyond). "According to this," Winship continues, "the Spaniards traveled due east across the plains for 100 leagues—265 miles—and then 50 leagues either south or southeast." Now Jaramillo has it that the general bearing was *north*east; and this has led even Bandelier astray, to say nothing of most other writers and far lesser authorities. Winship's acceptance of the easting and southeasting, rather than northeasting, adumbrates the most crucial point of the very notable contribution lately made to the whole subject by my colleague in the present work, Mr. F. W. Hodge.

"Coronado's March to Quivira. An Historical Sketch," by Mr. Hodge, occupies pp. 29-73 of my friend J. V. Brower's Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, vol. ii, Harahay, 4to, St. Paul, Minn., 1899. In my judgment this is the closest approximation ever made to the actual route, as it is also the most critical study of all that relates to the itinerary. In this it is seen that Coronado's march from Culiacan to Cibola was practically identical with that of Friar Marcos de Niza, as outlined in my previous note [38], p. 479 *seq.* Coronado was in fact led by the friar, who had reached Cibola the year before, having been led there by the negro Stephen, who was led there by Indians who knew the way. In spite of conflicting statements of Marcos de Niza, of Coronado himself, of Castañeda, of Jaramillo, of anybody else, this portion of the route is approximately fixed; in whatever stretches the trail may be still a little dim, it is never lost, and probably will never be materially altered from what has just now been determined by Mr. Hodge. Not less certitude attaches to Coronado's route from Cibola or Zuñi to the Rio Grande at Tiguex, at or near present Bernalillo; and the same is the happy case thence to Cicuye or Pecos, where the trouble begins, and where Mr. Hodge seems to have overcome much difficulty in a very simple and effectual manner. It is done by reading *south*east for Jaramillo's "northeast," and by identifying as Rio Pecos the Rio de Cicuye over which the bridge was built, on the positive statement of Castañeda. I cite the paragraph in which Mr. Hodge makes this necessary correction (p. 60):

"That Jaramillo makes at least one serious error in this direction is obvious, for, after stating that, if his memory did not fail him, they went in a northeasterly course from Cicuye to the river named after that pueblo (because, as Castañeda, p. 504 [of Winship], says, '*it flowed down toward* Cicuye'), they crossed it, and 'turned more to the *left hand*, which would be more to the *northeast*.' There can be little room for doubt, therefore, that Jaramillo's first direction from Cicuye Village should be *southeast* instead of *northeast*, because after turning more to the left from a northeasterly course, they could hardly have pursued the same course; moreover, to reach the plains from Cicuye or Pecos, why should the Spaniards have extended their march directly into the rugged mountains to the northeast? Furthermore, where, after traveling four days in that direction, could there have been found a river which flowed down to Cicuye, the current of which was so 'large and deep' that it became necessary to spend four days of rapid work to build a bridge ere the army could cross? Such an insignificant tributary of the Pecos as the Gallinas is certainly out of the question, as Bandelier concluded after deciding the point in its favor, and the Mora and Canadian are likewise inappropriate, inasmuch as neither the latter nor its branch flows by Cicuye or Pecos. Further proof that the Pecos could have been the only stream over which the bridge was built four days after the army left the last pueblo is given in the definite and important statement of Castañeda (p. 510) that, 'On its return [from the plains] the army reached the Cicuye River more than thirty leagues below there—I mean below the bridge they had made when they crossed it, and they followed it up to that place . . . The guides said this river joined that of Tiguex [= Rio Grande] more than twenty days from here, and that its course turned toward the east . . . As I said, *the army followed the river up as far as Cicuye.*' It is far easier to find error in the direction given [by Jaramillo] than in the consistent statements regarding the Rio Cicuye and its relation to the pueblo of that name. All the evidence (save the statements of the direction followed from Cicuye Pueblo) and all the physiographic features of the country are to the effect that the river which it became necessary to bridge was the Pecos and that it was crossed southeastwardly from the pueblo. There is absolutely nothing save the direction (on which, as we have frequently seen, little reliance can be placed) to support the conclusion that a northeasterly course was pursued from the pueblo of Cicuye-Pecos."

In my view, Mr. Hodge has here let the cat out of a very large mealbag, and I do not hesitate to accept his contention. There are other strong features of his case, upon which I cannot dwell further than to emphasize the fact that the adjustment he makes provides for the wide sweep or loop on the Texas plains required to adjust the direction, the distances, and the days of the march to the Arkansaw river. This Texan sweep must have been over a portion of the Llanos Estacados or Staked Plains; exactly how far will probably never be known. The chances are that Coronado reached some upper waters of the Rio Colorado or Red river of Texas, if not even the Nueces, before he sent his main army back and pushed on north. It was probably a point somewhere about longitude 99° or 100°.

Wherever this furthest east or southeast may have been, thence the main body of Coronado's party returned to Pecos, making back in 25 days what had taken them 37 days in the going forth. Then Coronado, with some 36 men, pushed on "north by the needle" for 42 days to Quivira. Now, whatever scope there be for speculation and contention regarding the exact extent of the great loop made in Texas and Oklahoma, there is no room whatever for uncertainty regarding the place where the Arkansaw was struck, crossed, and the march made along that river for several days. Jaramillo is explicit and conclusive on this point. The river was reached on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul, was named for those saints, and was followed *down* stream, on its *left* bank, for about a week, *northeastward*. The only place where this is possible is the stretch from the vicinity of Ford, where Mulberry creek comes in, some little distance below Dodge City, past Larned, to Great Bend, in Barton county, Kansas. Here was the first village of Quivira; and I regard this point as not less well assured than the identification of Cibola, Tiguex, or Cicuye. Therefore I repeat: However much or little slack-rope we pay out for Coronado's swing in Texas, let us hold fast to the two ends—the place where the Pecos was bridged and the place where the Arkansaw was forded.

Exactly how far, or in what direction, from Great Bend Coronado or any of his men proceeded in Kansas to the end of the province or Kingdom of Quivira will probably never be known. It is only by taking the text at the foot of the letter, *pro forma*, that lat. 40°, the Kansas-Nebraska boundary, can be assumed to have been reached; and such latitude is wholly uncertain. Most probably the journey ended with the discovery of the Republican Fork of the Kansas river, very likely not far from Junction City.

One bit of Quiviran aftermath may be here recorded. Coronado was accompanied from Culiacan by four ecclesiastics, viz.: 1. Our friend Marcos de Niza, who went to Cibola and soon returned; died at Mexico, Mar. 25, 1558. 2. Fray Juan de la Cruz, who stayed at Tiguex and was killed there on or about Nov. 25, 1542. 3. Fray Luis de Escalona, an old lay brother, who went to Pecos (Tshiquiti′ = Cicuye) and was killed there. 4. Fray Juan de Padilla. This priest went first from Zuñi to Moqui (Cibola to Tusayan) under Pedro de Tobar, and returned. Then he went from Tiguex to Quivira with Coronado, and returned. After that, in the fall of 1542, he again left Tiguex for Quivira, taking with him a Portuguese soldier named Andres Docampo, two young men of Michoacan amed Lucas and Sebastian, surnamed Los Donados, and some Mexican Indian boys. Fray Juan de Padilla started his mission at some place in Quivira, and was killed before the end of 1542. Docampo and the young fellows were kept as prisoners or slaves for nearly a year; after which they wandered about for some eight years, from Kansas to Tampico in Mexico. Thereupon Docampo disappears from history. Sebastian soon died in Culiacan; his brother Lucas lived to a ripe old age as a missionary in Zacatecas.

APPENDIX.

BY ELLIOTT COUES.

Eusebio Francisco Kino.

The main source of information on this subject is a rare book entitled: Apostolicos | Afanes | de la | Compañia de Jesus, | escritos | por un Padre [José Ortega] | de la | misma sagrada religion | de su Provincia | de Mexico. | I. H. S. | Con Licencia. | — | Barcelona: Por Pablo Nadal Impressor, | en la calle de la Canúda. Año 1754. | 1 vol., small 4to or square 8vo; 6 unpaged leaves + pp. 1-452 + 5 unpaged leaves. Book II, Chaps. i-xvii, pp. 224-343, is entirely devoted to Kino's life-work. It appears from page 242 that the author found a package of Kino's papers, "in which are co-ordinated his travels, enterprises, and discoveries"; so that the book, being derived to some extent from Kino's own MSS., is of the most unquestionable authenticity in this regard. Padre José Ortega was also a Jesuit, but he is more particular and painstaking in his history and geography than most writers of that company in those days; dates abound in his writing, in orderly sequence and with precision; so do names of persons and places. Barring theological bias, we can take our Ortega for prime authority regarding the facts of Kino's life.

The following notice is compiled mainly from this source.[1] The copy of the book I handle is in good condition in the library of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington. Among other original or contemporary authorities, the most important one in

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[1] Ortega has it, in his Breve Elogio del Padre Kino, forming chap. xvi of Book ii of his work, p. 330, that the following missions of Pimeria were due to this missionary:

(1) Mission de los *Dolores:* with two pueblos de visita.
(2) Mission de *San Ignacio:* with two pueblos de visita.
(3) Mission de *Tubutama:* with nine pueblos de visita.
(4) Mission de *Caborca:* which included very many persons.
(5) Mission de *Santa Maria Suamca:* which, though it had few at headquarters, counted many persons in the pueblos de visita, which extended to the Sobaypuris.
(6) Mission de *Guevavi:* which included no fewer Indians in their rancherias than Spaniards in their outposts.
(7) Mission de *San Xavier del Bac:* very populous among them all.

"Besides these missions, whose beginning was due to Father Kino, his indefatigable charity is witnessed in all those rancherias there are on the south to the Serys, on the northwest from the shores of Caborca to the head of the Gulf, on the northeast to the Rio Gila; which surely would be well occupied by four to six missionaries. Yet eight other missionaries would have field enough for their zeal in the pueblos which Father Kino visited, domesticated, fostered, and brought to embrace our holy religion, on the banks of the Gila and Colorado, being those of the Pimas, Opas, Cocomaricopas, Yumas, and Quiquimas."

Thus far Ortega, summing results of Father Kino's ministry.

With this exhibit of the state of affairs about the close of this apostle's labors it may be interesting to compare the state of the missions in Sonora at the close of the Jesuit period, just before Garcés appeared upon the scene. The data for this purpose are conveniently accessible in the tract I have already cited so often in other connections—the Rudo Ensayo, written for the most part in 1762 and completed in 1763; the matter here to be condensed beginning chap. vii, p. 204. I follow the spelling of proper names given in this tract, though they are far from being uniform and are sometimes obviously erroneous.

JESUIT MISSIONS OF SONORA IN 1762.

All under the jurisdiction of the Visitador de Sonora—*Visitador* being the title of the superior of each Missionary Province, because it is his duty to visit the missions under his charge once, twice, or oftener during the triennial period of his administration, as the Provincial does with the Colleges of his Province.

Missions 29 in number, divided into 4 Rectorships, viz.:

I. St. Francis Borgia:	8	missions.
II. Holy Martyrs of Japan:	6	"
III. St. Francis Xavier:	7	"
IV. Lady of Sorrows:	8	"
Total	29	

The superiors of these four divisions are called Rectors, having the same authority over the missionaries as is given to rectors over colleges.

bearing on Kino's travels is Juan Mateo Mange, whose itineraries, etc., are published in the Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, 4th series, vol. i,

I. Rectorship of St. Francis Borgia.

This is chiefly in the Province of Ostimuri.

1. *Onapa*, in charge of Fray Michael de Almela. Pimas. Visita: Taraichi.
2. *Aribechi* or *Arivetsi*, in charge of Padre Roldan, the rector. Opatas, Jovas, Elzuis, and Eudeves. Visitas: Ponida, Bacanora.
3. *Saguaripa*, in charge of Padre Thomas Perez. Jovas. Visita: Tespari; also ranchos of San Cayetano de Chamada, and of Chipafora.
4. *Movas*, in charge of Fray Bernard Middendorff. Pimas. Visita: Nuri.
5. *Onabas*, in charge of Fray Henry Kirtzel. Pimas. Visitas: Tonitzi, Soyopa, in both of which Pimas and Eudebes live together.
6. *Cumuripa*, in charge of Fray Joseph Joachim Franco. Pimas. Visita: Buena Vista.
7. *Tecoripa*, in charge of Padre James (Jacobo) Sedelmayr. Pimas. Visitas: Zuaqui, San José de los Pimas.
8. *Matape*, in charge of Padre William David Borio. Visitas: Nacori, Alamos.

II. Rectorship of the Three Holy Martyrs of Japan.

9. *Batuco*, in charge of Fray Alexander Rapicani. Visita: Tepuspe.
10. *Oposura*, in charge of Padre Visitador Joseph Garrucho. Opatas. Visitas: Terapa, Cumpas.
11. *Tonovavi*, in charge of Fray John Mentuig. Opatas.
12. *Bacadequatzi*, in charge of Padre Rector Manuel de Aguirre.

Mexico, 1856, pp. 226-402. This clean record is in twelve chapters, the first eight of which, running to p. 343, relate to travels which Mange made in person

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Opatas. Visitas: Nacori (*bis*—see No. 8), Mochopa; also, rancho of Satechi. (Jovas and Taraumares.)

13. *Vaseraca* or *Baseraca* (*Santa Maria de*), in charge of Padre Joseph Och. Opatas. Visita: Guatzinera.
14. *Bavispe*, temporarily in charge of Och, since March, 1762.

III. Rectorship of St. Francis Xavier.

15. *Cuquiaratsi* or *Cuquiarachi*, in charge of Padre Bartholomew Saenz. Visitas: Enchuta, Teuricatzi.
16. *Arispe*, in charge of Padre Charles de Rojas, Vice-rector. Visitas: Bacoguetzi, Chinapa.
17. *Banamichi*, in charge of Padre Joseph Toral. Visitas: Sinoquipa, Guapaca.
18. *Acotsi* or *Acontsi*, in charge of Padre Nicolas Perera. Visita: Baviacora.
19. *Ures*, in charge of Padre Andrew Michel; the Padre Rector Philip Seseger having died Sept. 28 (1762). Visita: Santa Rosalia.
20. *Opodepe*, in charge of Padre Francis Loaisa. Eudebes. Visitas: Nacameri, Pimas.
21. *Cucurpe*, in charge of Padre Salvador de la Peña. Opatas and Eudebes. Visita: Toape.

IV. Rectorship of our Lady of Sorrows (*or Pimeria Alta*).

22. *Soamca* (*Santa Maria de*), in charge of Padre Diego Joseph Barrera. Pimas. Visita: Cocospera or Coespan. (The original mission of this Rectorship was Dolores, with Remedios as its visita.)
23. *Bac* (*San Xavier del*), in charge of Padre Alphonsus Es-

with Kino, 1694-1701, and represent a fine combination of the good soldier with the good priest. Mange's matter is followed to p. 466—almost to the end of the volume—with some of Kino's own papers, relating to prior operations of his, 1683-84, which are not distinctly treated by Ortega in the Apostólicos

pinosa. Pimas. No visita; last Piman mission to the north.

24. *Guevavi* or *Gusudac*, in charge of Padre Ignatius Pfeffercorn. Visitas: Sonoitac, Calabazas, Tumacacori. There had been a fourth, called Ari[vaca], where the rebels camped in 1751.
25. *Saric*, in charge of Padre Michel Gerstner; scene of the massacre of Nov. 20, 1751. Visitas: Busani, Arizona (or Arizonac), Aquimuri.
26. *Tubutama*, in charge of Padre Rector Luis Vivas. Visita: Santa Teresa.
27. *Ati*, lately in charge of Padre Joseph Hafenrichter, now dead; cared for by Luis Vivas. Visita: Uquitoa (or Aquitoa).
28. *Caborca*, in charge of Padre Anthony Maria Venz. Visitas: Pitic, Bisani. (At Caborca Father Tello murdered Nov. 21, 1751, when Father Henry Ruhen or Ruen was murdered at San Miguel de Sonoitac.)
29. *San Ignacio*, in charge of Padre Francis Paver, since the death, last April, of Padre Caspar Stiger, who administered it more than 30 years. Visitas: Santa Magdalena, Himuri.

Thus there were 29 missions, 73 towns and several rancherias: 3 towns and 2 rancherias of Jovas; 27 towns of Opatas and Eudebes, forming together with Jovas 11 missions; 10 towns, 4 missions, of Eudebes alone; 14 towns, 6 missions, in Pimeria Baja; 22 towns, 8 missions, in Pimeria Alta.

Afanes. Again: In the same Documentos, etc., 3d series, vol. iv, is found the Relacion, etc., of Cristóbal Martin Bernal, 1697, containing much about Kino. Consult also Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, 3 vols., Mexico, 1841. Outlines of Kino's operations, derived from the foregoing and various other sources, are accessible in Bancroft's works, though somewhat inconveniently scattered through his several volumes on the North Mexican States and on Arizona and New Mexico.

The real name of this great and good padre may have been Eusebius Kühn, Kühne, or Kühner, which in Spanish became sometimes Chino, oftener Quino, and finally Kino. He was a native of Trent in the Austrian Tyrol, and a near relation of Father Martin Martin, S. J., a notable missionary in Asia. The date of his birth is unknown—it was about 1640. His early devotions were paid to mathematics, during his education at Ala in Tyrol, and his connection with the college of Ingolstadt in Bavaria; such being his proficiency in the science that a professorial chair was offered to him by the Most Serene Duke of Bavaria. This honorable academic preferment he declined, esteeming it only something to be sacrificed to God, and ardently desiring to be sent to the Indies for the salvation of souls. Having fancied that on one occasion he owed his recovery from sickness to the intercession of St. Francis Xavier at the Throne of Grace, he inserted that saint's name in his own, which thus became in Spanish Eusebio Francisco Kino.[3]

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[3] Ortega's Breve Elogio opens as follows, p. 328, literally translated: "He [Kino] was native of the City of Trento [Trent, in Tyrolese Austria], a near relative of Father Martin Martini, a distinguished operator of our company and Apostolic missionary of the Empire of Grand China, whose footsteps he [Kino] followed gloriously in this North America. He so applied himself to the study of mathematics, and improved himself in such manner with his great mind, that the most serene Duke of Bavaria, with his son Maximilian, glorious progenitor of the defunct emperor Carlos VII., visiting the college of Ynglostat [Ingolstadt], his electoral Highness [the Duke] desired to employ him [Kino] in a chair of this most useful science in that so celebrated university; he renounced this honorable preferment, which only served him to have the more to sacrifice to God, seeking to pass to the Indies, moved by his ardent zeal of souls, and succeeding in this soon afterward: for he esteemed rather the painful fatigues, dedicating himself to the conversion of the infidels, than the literary shining of his lively genius in the most elevated chairs. Having arrived in Mexico on the occasion of a celebrated comet [Newton's, 1680], which in those times occupied the curiosity and application of the mathematician, he discovered almost without advertising it that he penetrated the most delicate points of that most noble faculty.

"Rather directing soon afterward all his vigilance to the greater glory of God, and of souls as well, he extended his ardent apostolic zeal into California, whose reduction, in the character of Superior of Ours he undertook; he labored there gloriously more than a year and a half with not a few conver-

Ortega says, p. 328, that he reached Mexico on the occasion of a celebrated comet: Newton's was of 1680, Halley's of 1682. Ortega says, p. 230, that he reached a mission of New Spain in 1681. Both dates may easily be correct. His Explicacion del Cometa appeared in Mexico in 1681; he became noted for his astronomical discussion with Sigüenza y Góngora, and these matters probably determined his assignation to duty in Lower California as cosmographer major and superior missionary, with two other priests, on the ex-

sions, and with many discoveries; this so important enterprise ceased for lack of the necessary means to continue it; yet this zealous apostolic man always conserved the love of this spiritual conquest, firstborn of his great fiery charity; by the port of Guaymas, by the vicinity of Caborca, by that of Santa Clara, by the island that he first discovered and named de Santa Inés, by the disemboguement of the Rio Colorado, and by the verification of that peninsula to be land continuous with new Spain, he always sought to open the way to enter; and when once it was conquered, he established communication and commerce at the cost of continual very painful voyages, in order to facilitate its assistance, and remedy its natural sterility. It is almost incredible how he worked in opening the way by the Rio Colorado to the port of Monterrey and Cape Mendocino, judging on very weighty grounds that it could not be distant hence more than 8, 9, or 10 days' journey; and it is certain that if he had succeeded in this purpose, he would have co-operated much and facilitated in grand manner the reduction of an extended and dilated land of California, with the result of many thousands of souls which inhabit it, and it was to this that this indefatigable missionary directed his efforts."

pedition under command of Admiral Isidro Otondo y Antillon, which sailed in two ships from Chacala, Jan. 18, 1683: for particulars, see Bancroft, Hist. N. Mex. States, i, p. 187 *et seq.*, with authorities there cited, especially Kino himself, Tercera Entrada de los Jesuitas en California, printed in Doc. para la Hist. Mex., 4th ser., i, 1856, pp. 408-468, being a diary of affairs at San Bruno from Dec. 21, 1683, to May 8, 1684.

Kino is little in evidence during 1685-86, but was very soon transferred to the new field of exploitation which he was destined to make his own, where he won the title of Apostle of the Pimas after labors in Sonora and Arizona which ended only with his death; and during all these years he was the most commanding figure in Pimeria Alta. Ortega's first fixed date is Nov. 20, 1686, the day on which this "Apostólico Varon" left the City of Mexico to proceed to that of Guadalaxára. Here he secured from the Real Audiencia an order exempting his prospective converts from forced labor in mines and haciendas for a period of five years—not a great concession, in view of the previous Real Cédula of May 14, 1686, extending such exemption to 20 years. As a late writer remarks, such orders were "strictly obeyed, perhaps—in districts where there were neither mines nor haciendas"!

Kino left Guadalaxára Dec. 16, arrived at Ures in Sonora in February, 1687, and on March 13 reached the place where he founded the first mission, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The name "Dolores" is still on our maps, at the head of that branch of Rio de Sonora indifferently called Rio de San Miguel and Rio de Horcasitas, next above Cucurpe. He went 10 leagues westward to a place called Caborca—to be carefully distinguished from the better known Caborca, much further west, on Rio Altar—and there founded a pueblo called San Ignacio; this was in the close vicinity of modern Magdalena, on Rio Magdalena (also called Rio San Ignacio). Thence going northward to a suitable spot, he founded a second pueblo, San José de Himeris, now best known as Imuris, on the same Magdalen river; and at a like distance eastward, a third pueblo, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. All these in the same year, 1687; and to the end of his life "Our Lady of Sorrows" continued to be Kino's home or headquarters—close to the "Remedies" of the same lady. Soon after 1687 the pueblos thus founded were divided into two missions, of which Dolores and Remedios were one, San José and San Ignacio (Imuris and Caborca) were another, the former in charge of Kino, the latter in that of another Jesuit.

Affairs were satisfactory, in spite of el Demonio, and in 1690 Kino had a church in each one of his villages. In December of that year Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra was appointed superior and visitador of Sinaloa and Sonora; he came to Dolores, whence he went with Kino to the other places above named; whence the two congenial spirits pushed further into Pimeria Alta, laying great plans for spiritual conquests to be extended to California and elsewhere. Ortega, pp. 248-252, names places visited on this entrada of 1691 as follows: From Dolores by way of Santa Maria Magdalena pueblo and a land called el Tupo to the mission of San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama (on Rio Altar: place still so called, and probably in 1691 not yet a regular mission, though Kino may have operated there); thence to Saric (still so called, on the same river) and Tucubabia in the same vicinity. Here they were met by a delegation of Sobaipuris, from the region about the modern San Xavier del Bac and (San Cayetano de) Tumacacori in southern Arizona, begging for padres. The fathers determined to go to (*acercarse*) the Sobaipuris, and did so, says Ortega, p. 249, reaching in 15 leagues the rancheria called Guevavi where, in Ortega's time (*al presente*—1752) there was a mission; but it does *not* appear that Guevavi was the place where the Sobaipuris were met or a mission was then founded, and all those who so state must have misread their Ortega.

However, the latter clearly states that the priests pushed on to San Cayetano Tumagacori (*sic*); and this place being close to Tubac Kino now makes his first entrada into Arizona, at or near our recent Fort Mason, on the Santa Cruz river. The fathers then went to Santa Maria de Suamca, a place almost on our boundary, east of Los Nogales; and thence to Cocospera, easily found on a modern map. There they separated, Kino tarrying awhile, and Salvatierra returning from his extended tour of inspection.

Early in September, 1692, Kino returned to Suamca, presumably starting from his own mission of Dolores, which he had meanwhile regained; he is also said to have pushed on to San Xavier del Bac, thus making his second Arizona entrada, and returning to Dolores on Dec. 11, 1692. Either immediately, or early in 1693, he made a tour westward through Tubutama and thence down Rio Altar far enough to sight the Gulf of California from a hill he then or afterward called Cerro Nazareno. On this journey he was accompanied by Father Agustin Campos, who had meanwhile come to take charge of the mission of San Ignacio. At a place on the river called Caborca—the one still well known by this name—they found many Sobas, so named for their cacique, who were infidels, and at war with the Indians of the vicinity of Dolores. The fathers composed the difficulty and imposed upon the small place the large name of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion de Caborca, which in Ortega's time (1752) still remained the most remote mission of Sonora. This journey is notable as the first on record to reach the Gulf coast via Altar river. Kino was at Caborca in July, 1693, and again examined the country thereabouts in February, 1694, as will presently appear. Ortega being too curt just here, I turn to Mange's Diary for original information.

At that very date, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Crusate, an ex-governor of New Mexico, was put in command in Sonora, to wage war against Apaches and other hostiles during 1694. His nephew, Juan Mateo Mange, was commissioned as lieutenant, ordered to escort padres, and report in writing; his diaries are extant, as above said. Mange reached Kino's Dolores mission Feb. 3, 1694; and on the 7th both started over the Sierra del Comedio to reach Santa Maria Magdalena (de Buquibava), where they were joined on the 8th by Marcos Antonio Kappus from Opodepe; and starting on the 9th they reached Pueblo de Caborca in two days. They followed down the river; on the 14th crossed the hills whose highest point was Cerro Nazareno, whence they viewed the gulf, and on the 15th reached the coast—first of white men to have done so from Pimeria Alta. The return to Dolores, by nearly the same route, was accomplished on the 23d. Among places mentioned by Mange on this excursion are: Tupocuyos, San Miguel Bosna or Bosua, Laguna de Oacue, alias San Bartolomé, Rancheria de Pitiqui, Caborca, San Valentin, Cerro Nazareno, and Paraje de las Ollas—from which last it was nine leagues to the coast. Four Californian hills, seen on the contracosta across the gulf, were called Santos Evangelistas; an island with three hills, Tres Marias; and the supposed Seri island of Tiburon, San Agustin (now Angel de la Guarda).

This journey was soon repeated; for Kino and Mange left Dolores Mar. 16, 1694, to visit the Sobas again with the intention of having a boat built to carry supplies to Salvatierra; but it was never completed. This time they went by Santa Maria Magdalena to San Pedro Tubutama, then a mission under Father Daniel Januske, or Januusqui, sometimes Jarniuke, who had taken charge in 1693. They descended the river past places they called Santa Teresa, San Antonio de Oquitoa or Uquitoa and El Altar[8]—the latter name has stuck to the place, and become that of the whole river—to Caborca on the 20th; having also made a side trip through places called Quesoll and Vacpia, Kino went no further; Mange passed a Rancheria de Unnicat, visited the coast, and named a small port Santa Sabina; both returned to Dolores April 4.

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[8] Mange says, p. 244, that being at the rancheria de San Antonio de Uquitoa, "proseguimos 2 leguas adelante al remate del rio, que aquí se sume á un paraje que llamamos *el Altar*," etc. This was where the river ceased to run.

For a third time Kino made the Caborca trip to attend to his futile boat-building. Mange left him at Tubutama June 8, 1694, and went up the river past rancherias of Gutubur, Saric, Tucubavia, and Gubo to a rancheria named Cups, so called from a smoking rocky cave in the vicinity, 23 leagues beyond Tucubavia, whence he brought word of *Casas Grandes* when he joined Kino at Caborca on the 11th.[4] Kino's return from this tour, to his Dolores mission, is not noted. But he was soon there, probably by the end of June.

In October, 1694, Father F. X. Saeta arrived at Dolores, and Kino took him to the mission of Caborca, where he was murdered April 2, 1695.

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[4] As this is an important matter, I give the passage from Mange himself, whom I am collating with Ortega along here. Mange says, p. 253, that when he was at Cups he registered some Indians, etc., who "tambien noticiaron que como cinco dias de camino, hácia el Nordeste, al márgen de un rio grande [*i. e.*, Rio Gila] que corre de Oriente al Poniente, habia muchos indios caribes y unas *casas grandes*, gruesas y muy altas"—so far as I know the very first intimation the Spaniards had of these remarkable structures.

Meanwhile, some Indians from Bac confirmed at Dolores the report of Casas Grandes on the Gila, and in November, 1694, the tireless Kino went alone to examine them. This time he reached the Gila, and said mass in the Casa Grande. The journey is thus notable.[9] Kino reported upon the venerable ruins; named two Piman rancherias, Encarnacion and San Andrés, 4 leagues apart; Ortega uses the name Rio Azul for the main branch of the Gila, though this is perhaps not in Kino's MSS. of that date (it appears on his map of 1701 as "R. Hila"); and speaks of Kino's being persuaded that the region of the Casa Grande was that called the Seven Cities (of Cibola) by Marcos de Niza (1539). Kino's return to his mission is not noted; no doubt it was soon after this flying visit to the Gila.

[9] I have already (p. 92) noted Kino's discovery, on Mange's authority, but will here quote from the latter, p. 259, the whole paragraph concerning it:

"En el interin de esta campaña [which Mange made] mismo mes y año [Nov., 1694] salió por sí el reverendo padre Francisco Eusebio Kino, á descubrir el rio [Gila] y casas grandes dentro de las cuales dijo misa porque cuando á mí me noticiaron los pimos de ellas estuvo incrédulo su reverencia algun tiempo hasta que viniendo á verlo á los Dolores algunos indios de la poblacion de San Javier del Bac, preguntándolos, se lo certificaron y le acompañaron de guias para ir á verlas y descubrirlas, contando mucho gentío por el camino que anduvo de ida y vuelta fué de mas de 200 leguas, y lo apuntó en embrion por no haber ido yo á este descubrimiento."

During the bloody disturbances of 1695, in which Father Saeta, a few Spaniards, and many Indians were killed, Kino seems to have made no entradas. But on Nov. 16, leaving Father Agustin de Campos in charge at Dolores, he started on a journey to the City of Mexico, which he accomplished in six weeks, to lay the case of the Pimas and other matters orally before the viceroy (Conde de Galvez) and the padre provincial. There he met Salvatierra, who arrived Jan. 6, 1696, to see about his own California affairs. Kino left Mexico Feb. 8, and reached Dolores in the middle of May, having traveled via the country of the Tarahumara Indians; Father Gaspar de las Barillas, or Varillas, came with him.

On Dec. 10, 1696, Kino started from Dolores, and went to San Pablo de Quipuri, a place near the head of that branch of the Gila now called San Pedro, in vicinity of present Tombstone, Ariz. His return is not noted, but was speedy.

On Jan. 19, 1697, he started for San Cayetano de Tumacacori and San Xavier del Bac, which he visited and returned.

On Feb. 3 Kino was at Caborca, with Mange and Father Agustin de Campos, to settle Father Varillas in that mission.

On Mar. 17 Kino went to inspect the posts of San Luis, San Cayetano, San Geronimo, Santa Maria, and

San Pablo. At this time Father Pedro Ruíz de Contréras was settled in the mission of Santa Maria de Suamca, with the Pueblo de Cocospera as his visita. On the 30th the Rancheria de Santa Cruz on Rio Quiburi was attacked and sacked.

In September, 1697, some Pima Indians came for missionaries to Dolores, and even to Baseraca, where resided Horacio Polici, superior of the Sonoran missions. Kino accompanied them, arriving at Baseraca Oct. 6. He returned at once to Dolores; and on Nov. 2 left that mission to join an important military and ecclesiastical expedition at Quiburi. Mange was with him, and the route is given much more fully in Mange's Capitulo Quinto, p. 275 *seq.*, than in Ortega's narrative. They went from Dolores to Remedios, 2d; to Cocospera, 4th; San Lazaro and Santa Maria Suamca, 5th; San Joaquin Basosuma, 6th; a place they called Santa Cruz Gaibanipitea or Gaibauipetea, 7th, 8th; where they joined Captain Cristóbal M. Bernal with 22 soldiers; Quiburi, 9th. Thence, starting on the 11th, they went down Rio Quiburi (present Rio San Pedro), passing places called Alamos, 11th; Baicadeat, 12th; Causac and El Rosario or Jiaspi, 13th; Muiva, San Pantaleon Aribaiba, 14th; Tutoida or Zutoida, Comarsuta, and Victoria de Ojio, 15th; and noting on this day two other rancherias, Busac and Tubo, east of the line of march. On the

16th they reached the Gila, and descended it three leagues. "El gran rio Gila" Mange calls it, and speaks of its origin south of the New Mexican pueblo Peñol de Acoma. The river may have been first so called on this occasion; though the word *Xila* occurs in Benavides, about 1630, and though the river had been named Rio del Nombre de Jesus by Juan de Oñate in 1604-05, and known to the Spaniards since 1538 or 1539. During Nov. 17-20 they traveled down the Gila, mostly at some little distance therefrom. They went eight leagues to a spring they called San Gregorio Taumaturgo, and two leagues further to San Fernando, on the river, 17th; over plains on the 18th to Casas Grandes, "dentro de las cuales dijo misa el padre Kino que hasta allá caminó en ayunas," and of which great houses Mange's Diary gives more than a page of description. On the 19th, four leagues were passed over sterile plains to Tusonimon, Tusonimo, or Santa Isabel; on the 20th, seven leagues to San Andrés, which was the extent of the outgoing. On the 21st they made a dry camp, on the way southward to ascend Rio Santa Cruz; 22d, camped at Santa Catarina de Cuitciabaqui; 23d, up the river to a ranchería in Valle de Correa and to San Agustin de Oiaur (at or near modern Tucson, Ariz.); 24th and 25th, San Xavier del Bac, or Batosda; 26th, San Cayetano Tumacacori, where Kino left Bernal's party. The rest of the route homeward was by Guevavi, 27th; San Lazaro and Santiago de Cocospera, 28th; Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, 29th; Tuape, Dec. 2, reaching Dolores that day or the 3d. The round trip of this entrada was supposed to be 260 leagues, and to have nearly approached the Moquis! We have full details from various sources besides Mange's Diary, including Bernal's own official report, and a relacion by Kino himself.

In the summer of 1698 Kino was sick; but by autumn he had recovered, and undertook a still more extended entrada in Arizona. The fame of Salvatierra's exploitation of Californian heathen had spread, and Kino was charged by the viceroy and superiors of the Jesus company with a reconnoissance of northern Pimeria and Papagueria, to see how best to send supplies from that quarter to Salvatierra on the sterile peninsula. On Sept. 22 Kino started with Captain Diego Carrasco from Dolores, went via Bac to the Gila, down this river some distance, and then continued from San Andrés 80 leagues southwest to the gulf, at a place he supposed to be that called Santa Clara "by the ancient geographers." This is uncertain; but Kino speaks of "fresh water" and "wood" there, and elsewhere says that in 1698 he saw from the Cerro Santa Clara how the gulf ended at the disembogue of the Rio Colorado; so we may accept it as a fact that he was in sight of that important point for the first time. The return trip is not very clear. Rancherias were named San Francisco, San Seraphin, Merced, San Rafael (modern Actum); 22 leagues westward of which latter he called by the name of San Marcelo a place the natives knew as Sonoydag (*i. e.*, the well-known Sonoitac or Sonoita); 15 leagues from which he came to Bacapa, whence it was 40 more to Caborca; whence, via Tubutama, he reached Dolores about the middle of October, as he reported his journey in a letter dated the 18th or 20th. (For some conflicting statements, *cf.* Bancroft, No. Mex. St., i, p. 266, note [33]; I have followed the Apost. Afan. This entrada is not given in Mange.)

Again the thoughts of the restless Kino turned like the needle to the north; and on Feb. 7, 1699, he undertook a new entrada with Mange and Father Adan Gilg, or Adamo Gilo as Mange has it. The route from Dolores was: to San Ignacio Caborica, 7th; to Santa Magdalena de Buquivaba and Tupo, 8th; San Pedro del Tubutama, 9th; Saric, Busanic, and Tucubavia, 10th; Guvoverde, 11th; a spring of crystalline water they called Santa Eulalia, 12th; past a watering-place in vicinity of which was a high castellated rock they named Arca de Noe or Noah's Ark, 13th; continued westward, 14th; to San Rafael, Actun or Actum, 15th; San Marcelo de Sonoita, 16th; down the arroyo to a carrizal, 17th; to an Aguage de la Luna, 18th; and thence, it is said, 33 leagues about northwest to the Gila, some three leagues from its mouth, on the 21st. We owe this itinerary to that capital fellow Mange—I wish Kino had gone nowhere without him! In broad outline, this trip was from Rio Magdalena over to and up Rio Altar, over to and down Rio Papago, and thence obliquely to Rio Gila three leagues from Rio Colorado; arrived Feb. 21st. There they met Pimas, Yumas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas; named two rancherias San Pedro and San Pablo; and heard of Indians beyond called Iguanes, Cutganes, and Alchedomas, besides many more wonderful things not necessary to specify here. On the 23d they started up the Gila, and continued on that course to the 27th inclusive. Kino then first called this river Rio de los Apostoles, and the Colorado he named Rio de los Martires; he also grouped the four Gilan branches (Verde, Salado, Santa Cruz, San Pedro) as Los Evangelistas—to such an absurd extent did he carry his craze for theological geography.[*] Rancherias passed thus far along the Gila were called

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[*] Mange's record of this nomenclature is on Feb. 27, 1699, p. 305, as follows: "llamó á este rio grande de los Apóstoles, al Colorado por el terreno sanguino, de los Martines [*sic*, mis-

San Mateo de Caut, San Matias Tutum, San Tadeo de Vaqui, and San Simon Tucsani. On the 28th they reached the great bend, which they cut off by going east March 1; on the 2d descried from a hill the Rio Verde, and camped that night at a Piman rancheria they called San Bartolomé del Comac, above the mouth of the Verde or Salado (but compare Kino's map of 1701, where places are marked along the Gila to the Salado as follows: Tota, Tutomagoidag, Sicoroidag, S. Simon Tucsani, Santiago, S. Tadeo Batqui, and S. Felipe). On the 3d, at 10 leagues above Rio Salado, they were at San Andrés de Coata, which was as far down as they had come in 1697; they went on past Encarnacion, apparently to Casas Grandes, on the 4th; turned southward to Santa Catarina, 5th; continued to San Agustin Oiaur (Tucson), 6th; and reached San Xavier del Bac on the 7th. The rest of the homeward journey was by San Cayetano de Tumagacori or Tumacacori, Guevavi, Bacuancos, Cocospera, Remedios, to Dolores March 14, 1699.

The same year of 1699 the superior of the Sonoran missions was Father Antonio Leal, who wished to make an inspection. So he and Kino, with Father Francisco Gonzalez (or Antonio Gonsalvo), and the

print for Martires], y el Salado, el Verde, y los dos de los sobaipuris que se juntan con este [Gila], dijo se llamasen de los Evangelistas."

good Mange, left Dolores Oct. 24, and went by the same route last said above to S. X. del Bac. Mange names Remedios, 24th; Rio de Santa Maria and plains of San Lorenzo, 25th; Quiquiborica and San Luis de Bacuancos, 26th; Guevavi or Gusutaqui, and San Cayetano de Jumagacori (Tumacacori), 27th; a depopulated place, 28th; to Bac on the 29th. Here Leal and Gonzalez stayed, while Kino and Mange continued down river to San Agustin de Oiaur (Tucson), Nov. 1; then 15 leagues further to places they called Santa Catarina de Caituagaba and San Clemente, 2d; and back to Bac on the 4th. Kino's return homeward was by quite a different route. On the 5th he started westward and went 12 leagues to no named place; 6th, west 6 leagues to Tups or Tupo, and 3 leagues to Cups, Cops, or (Rancheria) del Humo; 7th, west 8 leagues to San Serafin de Actum, where they received a delegation of Indians from San Francisco Ati; 8th, 13 leagues northwest and west to San Rafael; 9th, 9 leagues to Baquiburisac, at 16 leagues to Coat and Siboida or Sibagoida; 10th, to San Marcelo del Sonoita; 11th, San Ambrosio de Busanic; 13th, San Pedro del Tubutama; 14th, Santa Maria Magdalena de Buquibava; 15th, San Ignacio; 17th, Remedios; 18th, Dolores. This trail cannot be made out satisfactorily from Ortega; but it is plain enough in Mange's itinerary, pp. 317-320.

It is just now at the turn of the years 1699-1700 that Kino receives from his biographer the crowning title of Apostle of the Pimas: " nuestro insigne grande Jesuita, á quien por su incansable afán en alumbrar à esta tan numerosa Nacion, con razon pudieramos llamar Apostol de los Pimas," says Ortega, p. 280.

The year 1700 was the eighteenth of the apostle's active operation on souls. On March 29, he received at Dolores from some Cocomaricopas a present of blue seashells, such as had already excited his geographical curiosity when he was among the Yumas; and this started him off on a new exploration. He left Dolores April 21, passed through Cocospera, and continued by San Luis Guevavi to San Cayetano Tumacacori, 5 leagues beyond which he was in the Rancheria de los Reyes, and thence proceeded to San Xavier del Bac. Here he enquired about seashells to no purpose; but the occasion is memorable as that on which he laid the foundations of a large church, of the light workable stone which Ortega calls tuzontle, and others tetzontli—certainly the foretelling if not actually the beginning of the historic edifice still standing in Bac. He regained Dolores May 5.

On Sept. 24, 1700, our " incansable Operario de la viña del Señor " started for the Gila by a mostly new route. He went from Dolores by way of Remedios, San Simon y San Judas, San Ambrosio de Busanic, Tucubabia, Aguage de Santa Eulalia, Nuestra Señora de la Merced, and Rancheria de San Geronimo, thus striking Rio Gila above its great bend, which is recognizably described on his journey down this river to the Yumas. Here he climbed a hill to see whether California was mainland or an island, and heard of Indians called Quiquima, Bagiopa, Hoabonoma, and Cutgana. Crossing to the north side of the Gila he went down to its confluence with Rio Colorado, and the Yuma rancheria there, on the east side of the latter river, he named San Dionisio, that being the ecclesiastical functionary on whose day he reached the spot; the name is printed "Doonysio" on his map of 1701. Having made his geographical observations, among which it is interesting to observe the use, perhaps for the first time, of the name "Alta California," and for which he was afterward considered to have settled the question of Californian peninsularity, he started to return home. This was by way of places called Aguage de la Trinidad and Agua Escondida to San Marcelo (Sonoita): thence by San Luis de Bacapa and San Eduardo to Caborca; thence by Tubutama and San Ignacio to Dolores, Oct. 20.

The fame of this exploration spread to Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra at his post of duty in California Baxa. In January, 1701, he reached Sinaloa at the mouth of Rio Yaqui; on Feb. 16 he was found by

Mange at Cucurpe, and before the end of the month Salvatierra was with Kino at Dolores—*par nobile fratrum*. These congenial souls immediately planned a new journey, of which Mange gives us the itinerary. According to this, the expedition went from Dolores over Sierra del Comedio to San Ignacio, Feb. 27; by Santa Maria Magdalena to Tups or Tupo, 28th; San Pedro del Tubutama, Mar. 1; Ati or Addi, and Uquitoa, 5th; Pitquin or Pitiqui, and Caborca, 6th. Kino appears to have followed a little later, starting March 1, by way of Cocospera, San Simon, Busanic, etc., to Caborca. On March 10 both padres and Mange left Caborca, reaching San Eduardo Baipía or Paipia that day; northwest to a dry camp, 11th; San Luis de Bacapa, 12th; San Marcelo de Sonoita, 14th; whence they took up a route directly toward the mouth of Rio Colorado. This is barely indicated by Ortega as approximately down the arroyo sometimes called Rio Papago and so on to the coast of the gulf, around the lower end of the Santa Clara mountains (modern Gila range?). Places named by Mange are: Comaquidam or Anunciata, 10 leagues from Sonoita, 16th; Sicobutovabia or Totonat, 10 leagues down the dry arroyo, 18th; Basotutcan or San José Ramos Ayodsudao, 8 leagues more westerly over a plain at foot of mountains, 19th; Tupo or Aibacusi, 8 leagues west over volcanic malpais, 20th; Cabo Guasivavia or Duburcopota, 8 leagues west over desert, and only two leagues from the coast, which was reached on the 21st. This was at a point where the gulf was judged to be 12 leagues wide, perhaps at or near modern Adair bay. Geodetic and other observations were made which satisfied both padres, but not Mange, that California was a peninsula. It being judged impossible to ascend the coast to the head of the gulf the party started back on the 23d, and retraced their steps to Sonoita. They were there and thereabouts, with some short side trips, till April 6, when Salvatierra started to go direct to Dolores, en route for Guaymas; while Kino and Mange proceeded eastward via San Rafael, Merced, and San Seraphin to San Xavier del Bac on the 9th; whence, continuing southward by the regular route I have several times indicated, they reached Dolores April 14 or 16. This is the last we have of Mange's itineraries.

Fulfilling his pledge to Salvatierra, Kino planned another tour of exploration and evangelization, which he hoped would be less futile than the last. Leaving Dolores on Nov. 3, 1701, he traveled by Remedios, Cocospera, San Lazaro, San Luis de Babi, and San Simon, to Busanic. There, leaving Tubutama and Caborca aside, he took a new route to San Marcelo Sonoita, by places called Rancheria de Ooltan (otherwise San Estanislao de Ooltan), Rancheria de Anamic (otherwise Santa Ana de Animic, 15 leagues from the last place), San Martin, and San Rafael. From Sonoita, departing on Nov. 12, he reached the Gila at San Pedro by the route already noted on other journeys. Mange accompanied him no further; he went alone, or with one soldier, who soon ran away, but with a crowd of Indians, down the Gila to the Colorado at San Dionisio, immediately opposite modern Fort Yuma. Crossing the Gila at its mouth, to the south side, he went through the rancherias of the Yumas, to the last of which he gave the name Santa Isabel; and on Nov. 19 he arrived at the first rancheria of the Quiquimas, which he called San Felix de Valois. On the 21st, still going down the left bank of the Colorado, he crossed the river on a raft, where it was 200 varas wide, and named the place Presentacion; there, still among the Quiquimas, he was visited by a throng of Coanopas, Cuteanas or Cutganas, and Ojiopas or Giopas (elsewhere Bagiopas). He was told that the blue seashells did indeed come from the Californian contracosta, eight or ten days distant, and that he was only one day from the mouth of the Colorado. It seems to me miraculous, almost, that he did not proceed that one more day, after so many weary weeks and months as he had already spent in several attempts to determine this point; but he did not, perhaps being fully satisfied that he was in California, and that that was not an island. He recrossed the Colorado to the east side, retraced his steps to San Dionísio and San Pedro del Gila, and by the same route he had come, through San Marcelo de Sonoitac, he went on to Dolores, reaching home Dec. 7, 1701.

Kino's map, supposed to be of 1701, has often been published. It was then, and long remained, by far the best delineation of Sonora, southern Arizona, and the gulf coast of Lower California. But the holy father was not yet to rest from his weary work. The possibility that California might after all be an island haunted his imagination, and the devil was still busy *in partibus infidelium*.

Therefore he left Dolores Feb. 5, 1702, starting on what proved to be his last entrada northward, in company with Father Francisco Gonzalez, the missionary at Oposura. (This brother missionary is named Francisco Gonzalez in Bancroft, i, pp. 259 and 500, as being with Kino in November and December, 1701. He is apparently the Manuel Gonsalez given in Rudo Ensayo, p. 132, as having accompanied Kino to the mouth of the Colorado.) They passed through Remedios, San Simon, Busanic, San Estanislao, Santa Eulalia, Santa Sabina, San Martin, and San Rafael, to San Marcelo (*Sonoita*); whence by the same route as before they reached San Dionísio at the mouth of the Gila, Feb. 28. The next day they went down to Santa Isabel; and leaving to the right San Felix de Valois and La Presentacion, they reached a large Quiquima rancheria which they named San Rudesindo. Continuing southward, they found on the 4th rancherias of the same nation to one of which they gave the name of San Casimiro; on the 5th they were at tidewater; on the 6th they failed in attempting to cross the river from its left to right shore, and on the 7th they reached the very mouth of Rio Colorado, at a point where nothing but land could be seen on the south, west, and north. On the 8th they were besought by natives to cross to the California side, but did not do so; they were told of a certain Rio Amarillo in that direction, and that in eight or ten days they might reach the opposite seacoast. But Father Gonzalez was sick; Kino essayed a cut across country to Sonoita, which proved impracticable; and so the return was by the way they had come, through Santa Isabel, San Dionísio, and so on, to Sonoita on the 22d. Here the witness of Kino's first and last view of the mouth of the river grew worse; at Santa Sabina he received the viaticum; at Tubutama he was dying, at San Ignacio dead. Kino wrote his report of this entrada April 2; he never saw the Gila or Colorado again.

This year of 1702 the veteran missionary was assisted at Dolores by Father Louis Velarde; the weight of years was coming upon him, his career as an explorer nearly ended. During this year or 1703 he wished to go to the City of Mexico, but gave it up. In 1704 he opened new communication with Guaymas via Opodepe, Nacomeri, and Santa Maria del Popolo; the same year saw the completion of fine churches at Remedios and Cocospera. The year of 1705 was troublous, without results which concern us here. In January and February, 1706, he visited the Sobas, and from Caborca proceeded southwest over a new route to the gulf, at a point at or near modern La Libertad, which seems to have been Kino's Puerto de San Juan Bautista; he named an island Santa Inez, a cape San Vicente, and returned to Dolores Feb. 27. We read of some comparatively short trips in April, May, and June.

The last record of an extended tour northward is of October and November, 1706. Having been to Cuquiarchi for two corporals who were to escort him, he arrived at Bacoachi Oct. 14; at Bacanuchi the 15th, and was home next day. He left Dolores on Oct. 21 en route to Tubutama, swinging around by way of Remedios, where he met Fray Manuel de la Ojuela, 22d; to Cocospera, 23d; to San Simon y San Judas del Syboda, 24th; to Babasaqui, 25th; Santa Barbara, 26th; San Ambrosio del Busanic, Santa Gertrudis del Saric, and San Bernardo del Aquimuri, 27th. Kino and Ojuela thus reached Tubutama on the 28th, and were welcomed by Father Geronimo Minutili. Thence they passed by Santa Theresa to San Antonio del Uquitoa, 29th; by San Diego del Pytquin (Pitiqui) to Caborca, 30th; to San Eduardo del Baypia, 31st; through San Luis Beltran de Bacapa and far beyond, Nov. 1; to San Marcelo Sonoydag (Sonoita), 2d; remained 3d; to a good aguage del carrizal (reedy watering place), 4th; to Santa Clara mountain at a water-tank in rocks, 5th. Ascending the heights, Kino took his last view of the waters of the gulf, noting the continuity of California with Pimeria, and returned to San Marcelo on the 7th. Thence the route was: San Rafael del Actum and Aguage de San Martin, 8th; Santa Bibiana, 9th; San Estanislao de Octam, 10th; Busanic and Tubutama, 11th, remaining 12th and 13th; Santa Maria Magdalena, 14th; Dolores, 16th.

This was the last long earthly pilgrimage of the great Jesuit and typical missionary, whose Afanes were geographic exploration and the salvation of souls. He continued to labor with tongue and pen, indeed, from 1707 to 1710 or 1711, when he went his eternal way. The date of his death, like that of his coming to Mexico, is in question by one year. All agree that his labors lasted 30 years; the author of the

Apostólicos Afanes gives 1680-1710; others say 1681-1711; Mange has death in 1711, age "de casi" 70 years, of which 24 were in Pimeria. This uncertainty is the more remarkable, in that there is perhaps not another missionary record more abounding in exact dates, as may be judged by the foregoing summary.

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